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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to discover what has happened as a result of school desegregation. The research was guided by a major premise that the behavior of students in schools is linked to the social environment from which they derive. Hence the research encompassed the total community as a setting of the differences between blacks and whites as well as the specific neighborhoods from which students come. Contrast was provided through examining two high schools with rather different student populations and the 9th and 12th grades in each. The facts are that the school authorities are conscientiously attempting to achieve an equitable racial distribution, and in the two high schools under observation the official policy is to suppress any discriminatory practice. The absence of serious overt tensions or concern is neither a conspiracy of silence nor a lack of a potential for racial disturbance. The apparent quiet exists because students have created a parallel system based on racial identification which effectively isolates the two groups, at least sufficiently to minimize the possibility of overt eruption, although that is an unintended consequence rather than a major explanation for the observed groupings. Furthermore, this biracial structuring is tacitly accepted by the staff in a variety of ways. (Author/JM)

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Final Report

Project No. 2-0629
Grant No. OEG-0-72-3942

RACE AND CULTURE IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

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January 1974

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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PREFACE

This study is concerned with one of America's crucial social problems. It is the report of a research into the consequences of the mixing of black and white students in a formerly segregated school system. Time and budget limited the scope of our efforts. Field research was conducted during the 1972-73 school year in two high schools. A sample of parents of these students was interviewed during the summer of 1973.

The results presented in this report represent the cooperative efforts of a sizeable number of people. Our greatest debt of gratitude goes to the hundreds of students and parents whose understanding and contribution were so essential to the success of our efforts. Our debt and our appreciation to the teachers, staff, and administrators is no less great. Without their tolerance and interest little could have been accomplished. In particular we wish to thank Dr. James W. Longstreth, superintendent of schools, Dr. Jack Christian, assistant superintendent for instruction, Mr. John Dukes, Jr., and Mrs. Ann Henderson, principals of the two high schools in which the research was conducted.

The field workers are the real heroes of anthropological-type research. They are the ones who in fair weather or foul gather the data which they later analyze to give insights into the regularities of human behavior. Those who should be so honored for their research in the schools include Reba Anderson who was research associate and an assistant director of the project, Dent McGough, Carol Koogler, Murrell Rutledge, Don Wyatt and Andrew Miracle, graduate students in the department of anthropology, and Faye Harris of Santa Fe Junior College who was a consultant on marginal students and assistant in organizing family interviews. Others who conducted family interviews included Marigene Arnold, now of Kalamazoo College, James Simpson, Erly dos Anjos, George Zarur, Murrell Rutledge, David McPherson, all graduate students in anthropology or sociology; Ms. St. Elmo Cherry, a local high school teacher, and Ora Harris, a student at Santa Fe Junior College. Mr. Anjos also assembled and analyzed census data.

In keeping with current practice to protect the anonymity of our informants the names of all individuals and places have been changed. We follow this ethical procedure even though we recognize that the curious would probably be able to identify the locality in which the research was conducted.

Finally, we recognize the possibility of misinterpretation, if not misuse, of some of our findings and hence wish to prevent the quotation of any segment of this report without the express approval of the project directors.

Solon T. Kimball
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I

INTRODUCTION

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The United States is now engaged in one of the most revolutionary social experiments in its history -- the planned and enforced mixing of children of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds in the public schools. The legal sanction is derived from the Supreme Court decision of 1954, and subsequent judicial decisions declaring racially segregated schools to be unconstitutional, affirming the rights of citizens to the opportunities of an equal education, and requiring racial balancing of the school population to be achieved through busing and other means. An unanticipated consequence of this massive regrouping was that black and white children from their homogeneous neighborhood schools have been thrown into contact with others of divergent ethnic or social class backgrounds.

Although the abolishment of racial schools and regrouping of children to achieve racial balance are in the spirit of some aspects of the American creed, the decisions have disregarded some existing customs and principles of educational organization and practice. Recognition of cultural distinctness and hence of cultural pluralism has been affirmed by the Supreme Court in decisions affecting customs of the American Indians and religious practice of the Jehovahs Witnesses. But despite occasional objections from both blacks and whites and the publicized protest of the Chinese community in San Francisco, the courts have been adamant in their insistence on racial balance. The neighborhood school as a once cherished institution is also overwhelmed where racial mixing becomes a primary consideration.

There has been no agreement among either educators or social scientists about the relative degrees of homogeneity or diversity which is most desirable for child growth. Since the early 1900's the practice has been to do some grouping on the basis of intelligence. In the 1930's Lawrence K. Frank, a social psychologist associated with the progressive school movement, argued that students and teachers of similar ethnic and racial origin should be grouped together during the early elementary years. This tendency is found in privately organized and operated schools, including those established by religious or ethnic groups where a part of the express purpose is to perpetuate cultural separateness. The right of such cultural separateness has also been upheld by the Supreme Court. In any event there has been far more advocacy than research to evaluate the effects of one approach or another. Thus the central problem and some of its parameters emerges from this brief summation.

Background and Problem:

Auhcala County, in the north-central section of the state and boasting a population of over 100,000, with its principal city University City also the location of the State University, will provide the setting of the research. This county provides a rich cultural mix. Approximately 80 percent of the population is white. Of these, the original settlement was ethnically Scotch-Irish townsmen and farmers with their slaves, but also included rustic rural folk of the type described by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. The heavy population increase since World War II has come in response to the growth of the university and now includes small distinguishable enclaves of Jews, Quakers, Yankees, and a larger contingent of Cubans. The blacks range from a few traditionally wealthy families through a stable middle class town and country population to a larger segment of the unskilled and oftentimes unemployed.

The first tentative steps to achieve desegregation began in 1964 with a freedom-of-choice plan. The county then had 27 schools of which 11 were all black. During the ensuing five years a trickle of black students enrolled in the all white schools. For example, Central High in University City enrolled 145 black students out of a total of 2,329. The movement was even less elsewhere so that eight all-black and three all-white schools remained.

In the meantime the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund had instituted suit. In December 1969 the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit grouped this case with about fifteen others and ruled that there should be a two-step merger. The first, to be accomplished by February 1, 1970 provided for the merger of faculties and staff, transportation, services, athletics, and extracurricular activities. The second was to be accomplished in the fall term of 1970 and provided for the merger of the student bodies. The Supreme Court in a per curiam decision, reversed the Court of Appeals ruling on the grounds that the court had misconstrued the October 1969 decision in Alexandria vs. Holmes that racially segregated schools were no longer constitutionally permissible. Judge Middlebrooks of the Appeals Court also stipulated that a bi-racial committee of ten members with equal representation of both races be appointed. It was this committee which decided upon a 70-30 white to black racial distribution throughout the county.

Schools became fully integrated by court order in February 1970. Today the county schools are centrally administered with 22,000 students enrolled in 6 high schools, 2 junior high schools, 3 middle schools, and 20 elementary schools. Private schools enroll about 1,000.

The situation which we propose to examine is one in which the traditional bases for grouping of school children and assignment of school personnel have been extensively modified as a result of court imposed decress demanding racial balancing. Black and white administrators, specialists, and teaching staff were reassigned in a widespread shuffling of personnel. Students were subject to the same type of imposed rearrangements. During the initial stages there was considerable confusion and occasional violent eruptions of the tensions. Although the seriousness of the disturbances have now greatly diminished there still exists a need for a careful study of areas of incipient tensions, areas of adjustment, and a general evaluation of the consequences.

The research problem was to determine the racial, cultural, academic, and community consequences of regrouping of students in schools to achieve racial balance as ordered by the Federal Courts. The desegregation plans ordered or approved by the courts have a single purpose -- racial balance. There was no explicit concern with the quality of education, the pattern of community life, modification of curriculum, or school organization and administration. Yet these are the areas in which there are consequences which result from the execution of the court mandate and in which research needs to be conducted.

This study focussed upon the ongoing school system, including relationships between system and among administrators, teachers, students and parents. Its objective was to determine the relative impact of cultural and racial ethnic factors in the formal setting of the school as they were expressed in relations between faculty and students; in formal student affairs and in the classroom; in the connection between groupings in and out of the school; and in the role of the parents in shaping control of academic program and student interaction.

Anthropological evidence supports the general proposition that a key determinant in the capability of a human group to achieve its objectives can be found in the orderliness of the relationships (sanctioned by sentiments) among its members. One relevant example of the impact of such an anthropological finding is found the in the effect of Malinowski's description of the economic activities associated with the ceremonial aspects of the Kula ring of the Trobriand Islanders (Malinowski: 1922). This study had an important influence on the Mayo-Roethlisberger perspective of the Harvard University Business School for a number of years in their application of its principles to American industrial organization. As example of the diminished capabilities of a group to act cooperatively we refer to Lauriston Sharp's description of the consequences of the indiscriminate introduction of steel axes by missionaries to the Yir Yoront of northern Australia (Sharp: 1952). The principles of human behavior implicit in these two cases and in many others examined by anthropologists are directly relevant to the problem at hand. In fact, those educators who insist that creative learning occurs only in an environment in which relationships of trust and respect have been established among teacher and students seem to be groping toward an enunciation of the principles which anthropological studies already confirm.

II

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The creation of new knowledge through research includes the crucial problem of the selection or development of research techniques and analytical procedures which assure the achievement of the goals of the research. Since the consequences of mixing blacks and whites in the schools could not be fully understood except as we also understood the social and cultural aspects of the setting from which the students came it was necessary that our research strategies and analytical procedures be specifically selected for both school and community. There were, in fact, contrasts between the research methodologies utilized in these two segments.

The original research plan anticipated that an eminent Brazilian social scientist would join the staff in December, 1972, as the expert researcher in the area of race and community. His unexpected withdrawal from the project a few days before his expected arrival because of illness and our inability to recruit a substitute at that late date brought some change in our working procedures. The steps that were followed are summarized below.

The initial problem was to locate and analyze information which would illuminate the historical and demographic characteristics of the community. The two main sources were the 1970 census tracts and documents of various types. Computer print-outs from census compilations of a selected list of items provided the data for the demographic analysis including occupation, income, and racial residential patterns. Documentary sources provided information on the developmental epochs of University City from early period of settlement to the present.

The second step required the assemblage of specific information on the population of those neighborhoods which provided the student members of the high schools under study. Three separate steps were taken. Applicable census tracts were utilized for quantitative data. An on-the-spot reconnaissance survey was made of the residential localities to derive first-hand knowledge of housing appearance. Lastly, a non-structured, topic listed interview schedule was prepared. Determination was made of the number of interviews to be secured in each locality and a team of interviewers, black and white, were trained and sent to the field. Since there was considerable homogeneity within each of the neighborhoods it was not deemed necessary to attempt to secure a random sample. Furthermore, since the type of interview was not intended to acquire census type data, but to record impressions, feelings, and reports of events, it was never intended to attempt any statistical treatment of the results. Instead, these interviews were to be used to construct a "profile" of the responses. Our goal was a comparative overview of parents of students rather than a distributional listing. The uniformity in responses from each locality would seem to justify this approach.

That segment of research concerned with the school utilized a rather different combination of techniques. The focus was upon the collection of data about the behavior, activities, and grouping of students and other school personnel in the various kinds of situations in which they assemble. This approach calls for participant-observation and other techniques associated with field ethnography (Pelto: 1970). When combined with interviewing the analysis permits the elucidation of the types of internal social divisions which are usually labelled structures. Thus generalizations about grouping based on age, sex, and status are end-results of the application of such an approach. When we add to this, however, the in vivo dimensions which is characteristic of the community-study method then it becomes possible to make statements about systemic regularities in space and time. This is, of course, the natural-history approach as it has been explained elsewhere (Arensberg and Kimball: 1965).

It is sometimes difficult for those trained in disciplines other than anthropology to understand this approach. They have been concerned so exclusively with distributional patterns that they have overlooked, or not understood, the dynamics of organized patterns. These latter state the principles which explain modifications over time based upon a set of conditional variables. This approach permits one to get at the root of the matter rather than reporting its surface manifestations in statistical formula and this was what we had to do if we were to understand the underlying forces affecting the black-white separation in the schools as it began to unfold in our research data.

Perhaps brief further explanation will help to clarify the matter. The natural-history method being primarily inductive emphasizes the importance of recording actual happenings. To an outsider this might appear as a rather time-consuming approach, and it is, but there is no other way in which to get a handle on a situation where you do not know the nature of the system that you are likely to uncover. Among other things this means that the sampling method is meaningless, when you don't know what it is that you are going to sample. For example, we did assume, and empirical observation quickly established the fact that students joined together in friendship groups. This bit of information was just the beginning of the investigation. Without further explanation here we can report that we discovered that black and white friendship groups were structured quite differently from each other which may account for the complete absence of any racially-mixed friendship groups. Such a statement is based on the assumption of the difficulty of the new learning that would be necessary before an amalgamation could be achieved.

Certain standard practices associated with this type of research should also be mentioned. During the summer of 1972 we gathered from the school records and posted on key-sort cards information on every student in the 9th and 12th grades of the two high schools. Additional information was posted as it became available. This permitted us to get distributional arrays on several score items. We also had access to and accumulated other official documents as they became available.

Attention should also be called to another aspect of the anthropological approach which affects the organization, data gathering, and subsequent analysis of research. I refer to the comparative method (Radcliffe-Brown: 1952). Through the comparison of the behavior of those who differ culturally (or who differ sub-culturally if within a single society) it is the goal of anthropologists to enunciate those generalizations which are explanatory of the behavior of man. In a focussed study, such as the one reported upon here, it is also possible to organize the research to secure comparative data and hence extend the range of generalization. Thus the decision to work in two high schools, to concentrate on students at the 9th and 12th grade levels, to be concerned with the behavior of black and white students, (and to some extent of males and females) was made with the intent of providing a number of opportunities for comparative analysis. Once again the principle that the nature of the organization of research affects end-result analysis applies.

Finally, mention should be made of the weekly staff meetings. At these meetings which lasted from three to four hours and were attended by all field researchers and the co-investigators, hypotheses and generalizations were generated to be tested in further observation and interviews. The free flowing discussion kept everyone informed, and stimulated questions for further research. It also provided an opportunity for assessment of results and for future planning. These weekly meetings not only created an esprit' de corps among the research team but also allowed all of us to consider our research endeavor as a cooperative venture.

III

THE COMMUNITY AS A SETTING

University City is located in a southern state but not in that region sometimes known as the "deep" or "solid" South. As the fictitious name we have given to it implies, it is the locale of State University with approximately 23,000 students. The city itself has a population of over 70,000 people and it is the seat of a county which contains over 100,000 people. The city is situated almost in the dead center of the county which we shall call Auhcala. There is an Interstate highway that passes through the county from north to south. All of the other roads radiate out from University City to the several small towns and rural areas; these roads are known by the names of the small communities to which they lead -- Guthrie Road, Blueberry Road, Arrow Road, and the like. These small towns vary in population from 365 (Sparr) to Hickory Hill with almost 2,500 people. University City is not a large city but it functions as a metropolitan center for these small towns and the rural areas. There are no large metropolitan centers within 75 miles or more. Thus, University City is not a suburb. It has its own suburbs; and yet the style of life in University City is similar in many ways to that which has been called suburbia. (cf Herbert Gans "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life; A re-evaluation of Definitions") Unlike such "university towns" as Ann Arbor or Princeton, there is no Detroit or New York nearby to attract people to the big city. Thus, University City functions rather independently as a metropolitan center in its own right.

State University is the largest employer in the county and its faculty and student body "provides a demand for products and services which is vital to the well being of the area". It is said that the university provides one quarter of the total labor force and has a monthly payroll in excess of $8,000,000. The city's second largest employer is Homeland Training Center which is a state institution for the mentally retarded. In addition, the city boasts four hosptials. A large Veterans Administration hospital, a State University teaching hospital, the Auhcala County Hospital, and a new, privately owned Regional Hospital. These, of course, provide employment for numerous area residents.

There are no major industries in University City. There are a few light industries, particularly an electronics company. The surrounding countryside is still agricultural and pastoral. In fact, poultry and beef cattle production were by far the most lucrative in the rural zone in 1970. But, University City is above all a center of retail trade not only for the city folk themselves but for the smaller satellite communities and the rural population of the county. Since there are no nearby large cities, the shopping centers with their supermarkets, large department stores, banks, and small shops seem to flourish. Then, of course, University City is the seat of Auhcala county supporting both a city and county bureaucracy. Thus, it should be obvious that the major source of personal income for the inhabitants of Auhcala county is wages derived from the Federal Government, the State, the County, and the City itself. In 1969, the per capita income was $2,898 which was below that of the state as a whole ($3,360) and that of the nation ($3,688). The median family income in the county was $8,329 in 1969 which again was lower than the state or national standards. But this does not indicate any serious poverty problem; rather these figures show a decided improvement during the last twenty years. In fact, the number of families earning less than $3,000 decreased from 67 percent to 13 percent from 1949 to 1969. Those families earning more than $10,000 per annum have increased from 1.5 percent in 1949 to 40 percent in 1969. In these same years, University City and environs has passed through a minor building boom which is just now tapering off.

Likewise, University City and the county have experienced a rapid population growth since the eve of World War II. In 1940, the entire county held only 38,000 people and University City about 18,000. Then, from 1950 to 1970 the population of the City and county more than doubled and the City has grown much faster than the surrounding county. This has taken place not only by growth of absolute population in the City but also little by little the City has extended its area of incorporation (city limits). Even today there is a suburban area surrounding the City and just outside the city limits which belongs to the metropolitan area yet falls within the county. In contrast, the small satellite towns have dwindled if not in absolute population most certainly in relative importance. University City is situated in one of the fastest growing states of the country but this does not really account for its spurt in population. University City has not participated significantly in the vacationland-retiree growth of the state nor in its agricultural and industrial growth. Its fate has been tied to State University and to other government institutions. Until the eve of World War II State University was an all male land-grant college with an enrollment of less than 6,000 students. By 1950, females had been admitted, graduate programs were expanded and the professional schools increased in size and importance. Enrollment had grown to 10,000 students. State University continued to grow during the 1950's and 1960's and in 1967 the V.A. Hospital was constructed in University City. The university by then had become the educational and health service mecca for the state. In the 1970's this growth of State University has diminished, but not ended, in part the result of the opening of additional campuses of the state university system in other sections of the state. Yet University City seems to continue its growth and a population of 150,000 is projected for 1980. Many of the new inhabitants come from other southern states and from the midwest and north of the United States -- particularly those connected with State University and the V.A. Hospital.

With all of these midwestern and northern newcomers and with its large student body, University City cannot be considered to be a typical southern city. Yet not long ago, it was just that and a southern tradition still persists. The old court house square still exists but the public buildings such as the City Hall, the County Court House, the main post office are now housed in modern buildings and, as we shall see, the main shopping centers have moved to the edge of the city. Less than a generation ago, all of the city streets had names such as De Soto, Ponce de Leon, and the like. In 1950, the city streets were renamed following a quadrant system. Numbered avenues run east and west and numbered streets run north and south. Theoretically, the city is rationally divided into four zones by University Avenue and Main Street which bisect the old square. A large portion of Southwest University City is covered by the sprawling campus of State University. The railroad tracks which until recently carried both freight and passengers runs roughly parallel to Main Street. "Old University City" with its large homes built early in this century lies Northeast of the Square. West 13th street which borders the campus on its eastern side (and which is also a state highway) has become a "strip" lined with filling stations, hamburger stands (McDonald's, etc.), motels, and other rather gaudy business enterprises. Today by far the majority of the black population livesin Southeast University City. The new white middle and upper middle class residents have in recent years moved to the Northwestern quarter of the city. It is this Northwest-Southeast axis which interests us most for Forrest Park High School is situated in the Northwest and Palmetto High Schcol is in the Southeast. The Northwest is overwhelming white and the Southeast is overwhemingly black.

This was not always so and it is not entirely true today. To understand why this is so, one must explain something of the demographic and ecological history of University City. First, let us say something of the changes in the racial make-up of the population over time. In the 1860's Auhcala county was the seventh largest slave holding county in the state. According to one local writer, of the 8,232 people in the county in the 1860's, 4,465 or 54.2 percent were black (including "free colored" and slaves). Only a few of these blacks lived in town; in fact the town contained only 1,444 souls in 1870 in total and only a very small minority was black. Most of the blacks in Auhcala county must have lived on the small plantations and farms in the rural zone. Inevitably, many freed slaves are said to have moved into town after the end of the Civil War and local history is characterized by stories of lynchings and activities of the Ku Klux Klan. From that time until 1910, blacks predominated in the population of both the city and the county.

It was not until the 1920 census that the figures show a predominance of whites over blacks in either the population of the city or the county as a whole; the census of that year counted slightly more than 30,000 of which 53.7 percent were white and 46.3 percent black. A large, but not predominant, percentage of the population continued to be black until the census of 1950 when the percentage of whites rose to 70.7 percent. The figure reached 79.3 percent in 1970 for the county as a whole and 80.7 percent in the urban area (See Table No. 1). This rapid increase in the percentage of whites in the population from 1940 to 1970 coincided with the period of most rapid population growth for the city and the county; it also coincided with a period when southern blacks were migrating to larger cities particularly in the north of the United States. University City was growing from in-migration of whites; their numbers grew from 39,818 in 1950 to 82,665 in 1970. In this same period, there was no loss in absolute numbers of black population; in fact, there were 16,526 blacks in 1950 and 21,563 in 1970. Yet, this would seem to indicate that Auhcala county was certainly not attracting blacks during this period and was probably contributing to the black exodus.

At a time in the not too distant past when the population of University City was more equally distributed between blacks and whites, the residence pattern for blacks and whites was different from that of today. There were several black neighborhoods scattered throughout the growing city. One was just north and west of the Square not far

Table No. 1

Distribution of Blacks and Whites in the County
and in University City, from 1830 to 1970

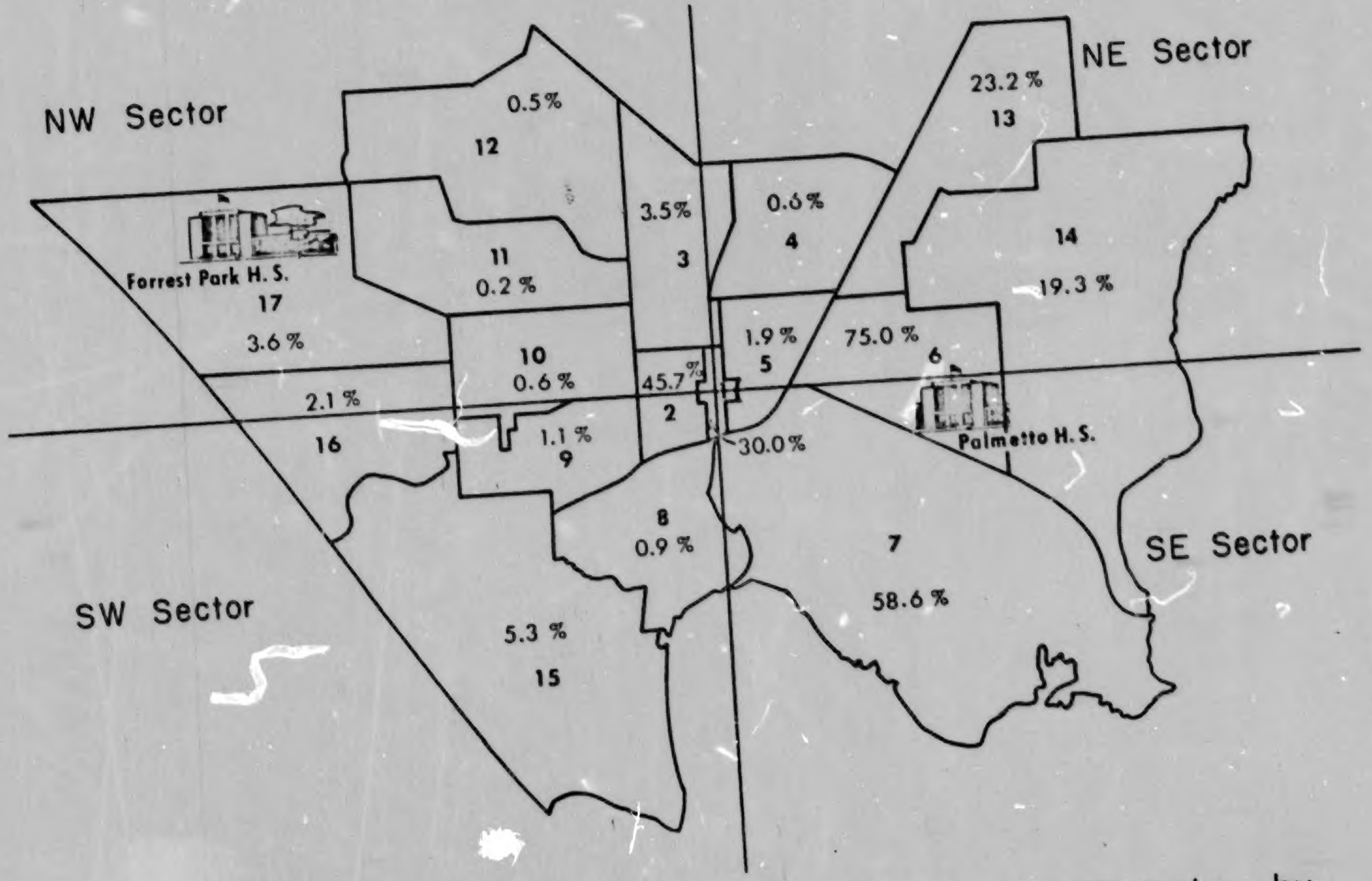
	County		University City	
Year	White	Black	White	Black
1830	1,592	612	---	---
	(72.2)	(27.8)		
1840	1,719	563	---	---
	(75.3)	(24.7)		
1850	1,617	907	---	---
	(64.1)	(35.9)		
1860	3,767	4,465	223	46
	(45.8)	(54.2)	(87.5)	(12.5)
1870	4,935	12,393	679	765
	(28.5)	(71.5)	(47.0)	(52.9)
1880	6,446	10,016	1,830	1,803
	(39.2)	(60.8)	(50.4)	(49.6)
1890	9,673	13,260	1,190	1,599
	(42.2)	(57.8)	(42.7)	(57.3)
1900	13,279	18,965	1,830	1,803
	(48.1)	(58.8)	(50.4)	(49.6)
1910	15,212	19,092	3,104	3,079
	(44.3)	(55.7)	(50.2)	(49.8)
1920	17,116	14,573	3,923	2,937
	(54.0)	(45.6)	(57.2)	(42.8)
1930	19,052	15,313	8,522	5,222
	(55.4)	(44.6)	(61.9)	(38.2)
1940	22,623	15,984	11,870	6,363
	(58.6)	(41.4)	(65.1)	(34.9)
1950	39,818	16,526	21,029	5,832
	(70.7)	(29.3)	(78.3)	(21.7)
1960	53,461	19,412	22,678	6,874
	(73.3)	(26.7)	(76.4)	(23.6)
1970	82,665	21,563	52,048	12,041
	(79.3)	(20.7)	(80.7)	(18.7)

Source: U.S. Census. 1830-1970

from the homes of the whites of "old University City"; another was just south and east of the Square; and still another was situated mainly along the railroad tracks just north of University Avenue. Often these black residential areas were separated from white residential areas simply by a street, a building, or another land mark. They were clearly segregated but always contiguous to a white area. Remnants of these black residential zones persist today near the center of the city almost as islands or pockets within the city. But about twenty years ago, a private housing development project, which came to be known as Booker T. Washington Estates, was initiated in the Southeast. The all black high school was relocated in a new building in the Southeast as were several elementary schools with black enrolement. Then, public housing was built in the 1960's and again most of it was in the Southeast. While public housing was not legally limited to blacks, so many qualified through low income that black families from the poorer black residential districts near the heart of the city and recent arrivals from the rural areas quickly occupied most of the low rent units. Booker T. Washington Estates prospered as blacks improved their economic situation and middle income black families moved into the Southeast. Even many relatively wealthy black professionals bought land and built homes in a portion of the Southeast. Thus, Southeastern University City became predominantly black, as can be seen from the map of census tracts and from Table No. 2. It should be noted that census tract 6 and 7 which included most of this "out east" or Southeast area of the city have 65.0 percent and 58.6 percent black residents respectively. It should also be noted that census tracts 1 and 2 in the heart of the city have high percentages of black residents. These are the remnants of the older black residential islands. Palmetto High School draws its student body predominantly from the Southeastern part of the city.

At about the same time and during the same period that the black families of University City were moving into the Southeast, the Northwestern sector of the city was being developed for white families. Because of the larger number of white in-migrants this sector became the most rapidly growing area of the metropolitan district. It quickly grew beyond the city limits and into the county. It is today an area of private homes ranging in value from $30,000 to $60,000, although there are homes that exceed these figures in value. There are also garden apartments with saunas, swimming pools, tennis courts and even golf -- some of which are owned privately as condominiums. This is a residential area of white upper-middle class families whose style of life and standard of living most nearly approaches that of suburban America. (See later section of report for family studies). The census tract map shows that they are overwhelmingly white; this sector of the city is included in tract 11 (96.4 percent white), tract 12 (99.8 percent white) and tract 17 (100 percent white). Yet, as the suburbs of University City expanded north and west, small rural neighborhoods of black families were surrounded but not obliterated. They remain today as small black enclaves in this white sector of the city. They have kept their identity and are known by their "original" names (Seminole, Brownsville, and the like). They have retained their all black churches, their small stores which also serve as recreation centers, their own youth's baseball teams, and their own social life apart from the upper middle class Northwest. It is from this relatively homogeneous white Northwest and from these black enclave neighborhoods that Forrest Park

UNIVERSITY CITY CENSUS TRACT


NW Sector
NE Sector
SW Sector
SE Sector
Forrest Park H. S.
17
3.6 %
2.1 %
16
0.5%
12
11
0.2 %
10
0.6 %
1.1 %
9
3.5%
3
45.7 %
2
0.6 %
4
1.9 %
5
30.0 %
8
0.9 %
5.3 %
15
23.2 %
13
14
19.3 %
75.0 %
6
Palmetto H. S.
7
58.6 %

Percentage indicates concentration of Black Population by Census Tract.

Table No. 2

Number and Percent of Auhcala
County Population by Race: 1970

Census Tracts	Total		White		Black	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
I. UNIVERSITY CITY DIVISION						
1	593	100.0	410	70.0	178	30.0
2	6,136	100.0	3,274	54.3	2,807	45.7
3	5,951	100.0	5,700	96.5	210	3.5
4	5,560	100.0	5,507	99.4	36	0.6
5	4,940	100.0	4,827	98.1	94	1.9
6	4,141	100.0	1,031	25.0	3,105	75.0
7	8,404	100.0	3,474	41.4	4,922	58.6
8	4,644	100.0	4,553	99.1	42	0.9
9	8,535	100.0	8,324	98.9	94	1.1
10	5,809	100.0	5,718	99.4	36	0.6
11	3,502	100.0	3,475	99.8	6	0.2
12	3,349	100.0	3,321	99.5	16	0.5
13	2,095	100.0	1,604	76.8	486	23.2
14	2,416	100.0	1,948	80.7	467	19.3
15	3,988	100.0	3,754	94.7	213	5.3
16	3,849	100.0	3,342	97.9	79	2.1
17	4,734	100.0	6,723	96.4	337	3.6
II. LOW SPRINGS-AUHCALA DIVISION						
18	9,079	100.0	5,736	63.2	3,338	36.8
III. GUTHRIE DIVISION						
19	3,814	100.0	2,697	70.9	1,111	29.1
IV. HICKORY HILL DIVISION						
20	3,628	100.0	2,441	67.5	1,180	32.5
V. OLD TOWN DIVISION						
21	1,971	100.0	1,346	68.6	618	31.4
VI. BLUEBERRY-ARROW DIVISION						
22	7,626	100.0	5,260	69.1	2,354	30.9

Source: Compiled and computed from 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts.

High School draws most of its student body.

Although Jim Crow in the traditional sense no longer exists, University City can still be characterized as a segregated society. In fact, white northwestern University City and black southeastern University City are even today almost two separate "communities" within one small city. But the form that segregation takes is no longer that of the old South which Gunnar Myrdal (1944: 629) indicated was already changing before World War II. Today institutional segregation is against the law. There are, of course, today legal sanctions against segregation in housing, in commercial establishments (such as hotels, restaurants, and stores), in public conveyances, in public services (such as hospitals), and in schools. The people of University City think of themselves as law abiding and the anti-segregation laws are on the whole respected. In fact blacks and whites do use public and semi-public facilities equally and without overt conflict. They share the same post offices, banks, department stores, supermarkets and other public and semi-public places. Yet, a new pattern of segregation seems to have taken form almost by tacit and mutual consent by each of the two racial groups.

The kind of friendly relationship which obtain in public places has now been modified toward a more impersonal and anonymous type. This separation becomes noticeable between blacks and whites, but white clerks no longer always wait on whites first. Sometimes a black customer wishing to cash a check is refused or his proff of identity is subject to prolonged scrutiny. In 1973, for example, the clerk at one liquor store belonging to a local chain refused to accept payment by check from a black customer. He said it was reported that it was not company policy to take checks from blacks. Unfortunately, his black customer was an elected city commissioner and for a time the Mayor of University City. The company quickly and publicly denied such a policy both in fear of legal retribution and the loss of business from the black community. To give another example, a local motel was accused of denying a room to a visiting black high school teacher, although it seemed to be obvious that rooms were available. On the other hand, white motorists have accused black youth of throwing stones at their cars when they drive through a public thoroughfare in a black neighborhood. Numerous other minor conflicts might be cited and many have certainly escaped our attention. It is enough to say, however, that while the two groups do not live in harmony, they do seem to have worked out a modus vivendi which allows them to live together without major conflicts and without violence.

This system of modus vivendi which may be more apparent than real, seems to have been achieved by a greater social distance between the two racial groups than was the case a generation or so ago. Blacks and whites in University City meet on their jobs, in public places, in the markets, and even in the schools. But each withdraws to its own home ground at night and during leisure hours. The strong trend toward greater residential segregation in recent years makes this easier. Churches, as they have been traditionally, remain segregated. But also segregated are small stores, movie houses, restaurants, cafes, bars, and night clubs which cater to either black or white customers. Then, there are public parks which are predominantly black or white. It may be said reasonably that most of these commercial establishments and public facilities which are attended overwhelmingly by black or white are thus segregated only because of their location. But this is not entirely true for there are stores and public parks in the Southeast which are close to white residents but seldom used by them. There is nothing to prevent blacks from attending movies in the better cinemas in the Northwest nor for whites to attend the predominantly black movie house near the Square. Some blacks do use public parks in the Northwest but few whites make use of the recreational facilities in the southeast. It should be noted that commercial establishments with predominantly white or black clientele cater to the tastes of each group. In general, each group rather respects the territory of the other.

Social life between black and white practically does not exist in University City. There are formal luncheons and banquets where white and black leaders are brought together. These are consciously inter-racial meetings social, politically, and ceremonially oriented. In our interviews with both black and white families of high school students, however, not a single family told us of receiving friends of the other racial group in their homes. We know this fact not to be entirely true for, in our experience, white colleagues have entertained black colleagues and young blacks have been seen visiting in whites homes but these cases are exceptions and did not appear in our sample of University City families.

White respondents from the upper middle class blamed their lack of social relations with blacks upon differences in socio-economic class and differences in educational level. The possibility of having black friends come to their homes does not even seem to have occurred to the lower income "blue collar" white families whom we interviewed. Our black respondents made no excuses for their lack of social life with whites. They generally simply shrugged and said that they did not have any white friends "off the job"; or even more baldly, several said that they did not want to invite whites into their homes. "It is enough to work with them all day." The fact is that the social system of neither blacks or whites (or the social system of the community as a whole) provides any norms for intimate social relations between the two groups. The social cleavage between blacks and whites is maintained rigidly in private life.

As long ago as 1944, Gunnar Myrdal (1944: 644-650) predicted this growing isolation between blacks and whites in the South of the United States. He attributed this growing separation between the two groups to an enlargement of a "Negro middle and upper class" which was able to live independently of white society. "Measured in terms of personal contact," he wrote, "there are Negro doctors, dentists, preachers, morticians, and druggists in the South who might as well be living in a foreign country. ...Those contacts with whites which are unavoidable are becoming increasingly formal and impersonal." Myrdal, of course, did not anticipate at that time the rapid development of black pride and even militancy of the last decade or so. Even so, he did state, "Racial pride and voluntary isolation is increasingly becoming the pattern of the whole Negro people. Lower class Negro parents now teach their children to keep out of the way of white people " (647), Mrydal could have been writing about the relations between black and white in University City today -- or for that matter in almost any city in the North or South of the United States.

Myrdal also describes the loss of intimacy between middle and upper middle class whites and their black domestic servants. In University City today few white families have black servants and when they do, it is on a hourly basis once a week or twice each month. The old stereotype of the faithful black domestic (or gardener) living on intimate but unequal terms with the white family dies hard, but it has died. The protective-dependency relationship between the white employer and black employee has now ended although white men continue to refer to it with pride. "John has worked for me for fifteen years" said one white builder referring to a black foreman; and a bricklayer spoke of his black assistant as "My Nigger" -- out of the earshot of the man concerned, of course. Yet, our observations in University City would lead us to underscore Myrdal's 1944 prognostication; "in planning for future race relations in the South the factor of intimacy and friendliness between white and Negroes upon the old patriarchal principle should be left out entirely as lacking in practical importance." (Emphasis Myrdal: 649).

Despite desegregation in public conveyances, in public building and facilities (even swimming pools), in employment, and in schools, all of which has taken place since Myrdal wrote, separation between blacks and whites seems in many ways to have increased. It is only in the public and economic domain that there are norms of expected behavior which govern and maintain relations between blacks and whites in University City with little overt conflict. These norms are very different indeed than the traditional "etiquette of race relations" described for the old South by Charles S. Johnson.* These norms or "rules" governing inter-racial relations were in a state of flux a generation ago and they are even more vague and diffuse today. In the past, all of these rules demanded deference on the part of the black and some of them were very specific such as the old taboo against eating together and the taboo among whites of using certain titles (Mr. and Mrs.) when speaking or referring to blacks. Many of the old rules have totally disappeared in University City today. There is no problem about eating together, at least on business and ceremonial occasions. Middle and upper class whites refer to "reliable" blacks as Mr. and Mrs. and often address them with these titles; it is hard to know if they address blacks more commonly by their first names because people in University City move quickly to use first names with everybody -- black and white. Most whites in University City have learned not to call any black "boy" -- even though he may be only 14 years old. Such terms as "nigger", "nigra", or even Negro, pronounced carefully, are almost never used — at least not in the presence of a black person. Blacks have a large series of terms for whites such as "whitey", "honkie" and the like but these are infrequently used within the hearing of a white person. If anything, the new rules of racial etiquette, although containing a residue of the traditional rules, are more polite on the part of both blacks and whites and much less demeaning to the black. They reflect the increase in social distance between the two groups. Perhaps because such rules are so vague, however, intimate social intercourse between blacks and whites is not easy on either side.

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*They are described in his Growing Up in the Black Belt, Washington, 1943 and succinctly outlined in a long footnote in An American Dilemma, 1943 p. 1363-64.)

We do not mean to imply that the end of institutional segregation has brought equality to the blacks of University City. Blacks still occupy the lower socio-economic positions in University City society. This is true in terms of occupation, income, and level of educational achievement, although it should be said that their situation in all three regards has undoubtedly improved during the last decade. The laws have had some effect. Blacks appear more frequently among the personnel of public organizations subject as they are to the law. There are a few black faculty members at State University, a few blacks who hold clerical and administrative positions in Federal, State, County, and Municipal agencies; and there are, of course, black teachers in the primary and secondary schools. But generally, the blacks who work for public agencies still occupy poorly paid positions such as janitorial and maintenance service, nurses aids, clerks, typist, and the like. In University City, there are a few black professionals -- medical doctors, dentists, lawyers, and pharmacists -- but their clientele is generally also black. The richest black person in the city is said to be a mortician; since blacks traditionally bury blacks he has somewhat of a monopoly. There are few black businessmen who own businesses catering to blacks. But these relatively well-off blacks are clearly in the minority. Most black families of University City are poor when compared to their white counterparts.

This fact is made clear by the statistics from the 1970 census for University City (See Table No. 3). The median income for all families both black and white in University City in 1969 according to these census figures was $8,329 . The median income for black families was $4,473 . The same census data indicate also that black incomes fall consistently within the lower categories, that is, "lower than $3,000" and "$3,000-$5,999". It should also be noted that the number of black families who have incomes over $10,000 per year is insignificant.* Likewise the census data show that blacks are employed in the less prestigeful and less lucrative occupations. Although the ten categories of occupation used by the federal census are not arranged on any scale of prestige or income received, common sense idicates that these categories do reflect both factors. Thus, it can be seen from the accompanying table (See Table No. 4) that over 95 percent of those classed as "Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers" which includes a wide range of occupations from physician and school teachers, are white. Also, whites make up over 98 percent of those classed "Managers and Administrators". It is only when we reach such categories as "Laborers, except farm" (41 percent black); "Service Workers" (almost 30 percent black) that blacks are employed in greater proportion to their numbers in the community. It seems evident from these statistics that whites have the better jobs, earn considerably more than blacks, and control the community economically.

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*The data in Table No. 3 shows no black families with incomes over $15,000. However, more complete data by census tracts shows seven black families in this category for census tract no. 7 (i.e. Southeast).

Table No. 3

A Comparison of Income Levels of Black and White Families in University City, 1969

	All Families	White	Black
Less than $3,000	3,172 (13.3)	1,745 (8.9)	1,427 (33.0)
$ 3,000-$ 5,999	5,007 (21.0)	3,584 (18.3)	1,423 (32.9)
$ 6,000-$ 9,999	6,321 (26.5)	5,349 (27.4)	972 (22.5)
$10,000-$14,999	5,170 (21.7)	4,667 (23.9)	503 (11.6)
$15,000-& over	4,201 (17.5)	4,201 (21.5)	---
TOTAL	23,871 (100.0)	19,546 (100.0)	4,325 (100.0)

Source: 1970 U.S. Census, Population and Housing "University City"

Table No. 4

Employment of Blacks and Whites in University City by Major Types of Occupations, 1970

		Whites	Blacks
I.	Professional, Technical & Kindred Workers ...	8,357 (95.1)	429 (4.9)
II.	Managers & Administrators ...	2,496 (98.2)	47 (1.8)
III.	Sales Workers ...	2,218 (97.9)	47 (2.1)
IV.	Clerical & Kindred Workers ...	5,377 (94.6)	309 (5.4)
V.	Craftsmen, Foremen & Kindred Workers ...	2,032 (83.3)	407 (16.7)
VI.	Operators & Kindred Workers ...	1,414 (64.6)	774 (35.4)
VII.	Laborers, except farmers ...	745 (59.0)	518 (41.0)
VIII.	Farmers & Farm Managers ...	152 (73.8)	54 (26.2)
IX.	Service Workers ...	2,133 (60.2)	1,411 (39.8)
X.	Private Household	148 (20.3)	583 (79.8)

Source: 1970 Census

Furthermore, the blacks of University City are less well prepared than whites to enter the labor market. The census data indicate that blacks have less formal education than whites. Thus, while slightly more than 26 percent of University City's white population over 25 years of age had completed four years of high school, only slightly more than 15 percent of the blacks had done so. (See Table No. 5) The contrast becomes more striking when one considers those with higher education. While 27.9 percent of the whites had completed four years of college, only 3.9 percent of the blacks had done so. And, the contrast in educational level is striking if one looks at the other end of the spectrum, namely those who do not have formal schooling at all or only four years or less elementary school. Only 1.9 percent of the whites had no formal schooling as against 6.3 percent of the blacks; and only 2.1 percent of the whites had four years or less elementary education as against 18.5 percent of the blacks. Taken as a whole, the population of University City and the county over 25 years of age had a median of 12.4 years of informal education while the black population had but 8.4 years.

This does not mean, however, that the blacks of University City are illiterate and uneducated. Compared to almost any country of the world, the 8.4 years would be a relatively long period of formal training. The large number of blacks (44.5 percent who have seven years or less schooling) indicates, however, that there is a large reservoir among the black population of University City who lack specialized skills and technical training of the kind that might prepare them to enter the labor force in better paid positions. It also indicates that black students more often come from homes with less formal education than whites. But we must emphasize that the statistics, at least, do not support (the statistics tell us nothing of the quality of education) the criticism that the overwhelming lower educational level of blacks tends to lower the quality of educational level of former all white schools.

The data from the 1970 U.S. census thus tend to confirm our view (derived from participant observation and from our families interviews) that blacks and whites do not share equally in the material and social benefits of their society. This is not a novel observation to anyone who has lived in or knows American society. It is also clear from our interviews (see later sections of this report) that each racial group lives most of its time apart from one another except in the market place.

It is really a matter of definition whether or not the two groups which are defined as black and white in University City can be called *castes* and whether University City can be viewed as a *plural society*. Both concepts, however, are useful in understanding the society of University City and placing it in comparative perspective. If a "caste system may be defined as a hierarchy of endogamous divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent." (Berreman: 1960: 120-27), then, black and white in University City would seem to qualify at least structurally as at least "caste-like". Furthermore, as Berreman adds, "Here hierarchy includes inequality both in status and in access to goods and services. Interdependence of the subdivisions, restricted contacts among them, occupational specialization, and/or a degree of cultural distinctiveness might be added to the criteria, although they appear to be correlates rather than defining characteristics." (op. cit. p. 121) Although many authors have objected to using the term "caste" for black and white in the United States maintaining that

Table No. 5

Distribution of Blacks and Whites According to
the Levels of Schooling, 1970

Levels of Schooling		All persons 25 years & older		White		Black	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No Schooling		1,282	2.7	639	1.7	643	6.8
Elementary:	1-4 years	2,509	5.4	772	2.1	1,737	18.5
	5-7 years	4,496	9.6	2,643	7.1	1,853	19.7
	8 years	3,134	6.7	2,397	6.4	737	7.8
High School:	1-3 years	7,404	15.8	5,134	13.7	2,270	24.1
	4 years	11,494	24.5	10,049	26.8	1,445	15.4
College:	1-3 years	5,726	12.3	5,364	14.3	362	3.9
	4+ years	10,816	23.1	10,461	27.9	355	3.8
TOTAL		46,861	(100.0)	37,459	(100.0)	9,402	(100.0)

Source: 1970 U.S. Census Population and Housing "University City", Census Tracts: pp. 4-13

Indian castes are sui generis, yet the analogy to the "caste system" of India is useful in that it highlights certain processes. In India, lower castes have been able to improve their material and economic position without modifying their low position in the hierarchy. The blacks in America have likewise improved their position economically and even socially (i.e. access to public and semi-public institutions) without losing their essentially subordinate position. In India despite legislation against the caste system, the system persists, although modified, as an essential element of Indian society. And, in the United States despite "anit-segregation" laws which govern a wide spectrum of our public lives, segregation continues in a new form.

Likewise the society of University City shares many characteristics with those which have been called plural societies. This concept was first used by J. S. Furnival (1939: Ch. 13) to explain the social and economic system of Java in which several ethnic groups with distinct languages, religions, and cultural practices shared one society meeting mainly only in the market place. The concept has been applied to certain West Indian societies, especially Trinidad, Surinam, and Guyana where East Indians live side by side with "creoles", predominantly descendants of Africans. (Smith: 1965) One cannot say with certainty that the life styles of blacks and whites in University City (or in the United States) differs sufficiently from one another to be characterized as distinct social subsystems with distinctive cultures or subcultures. Certainly they do not speak a totally different language. Yet we hear more and more about "black English". Nor do blacks and whites in University City practice totally different religions as do the "creoles" and East Indians in Trinidad, Guyana, and Surinam but each does belong to different churches. Our observations to date do indicate that there are strong differences between blacks and whites in language, in religion, in family and kinship structure and function, in occupation, and even in dress and food habits. Some of these differences may be attributed to differences in social class but others would seem to be limited to one or the other "racial" group.

All of those societies which are classed as plural societies have worked out rules or norms of behavior which allow them to interact relatively peacefully at least in their necessary relationships in the market place.* In such societies private and family life takes place within one's own group. The norms of group interaction among the distinctive socio-cultural groups in plural societies may be likened to the "etiquette of race relations" which existed in the old South and which are now vague and now in the process of reforming in the United States today. Lacking clear and precise rules of interaction, blacks and whites avoid each other limiting their relationships as much as possible to the market place. Furthermore, our interviews with families of high school students in University City show almost a total lack of knowledge by both black and white of the life style, family custom, values, and aspirations of the other. The society of University City may not have all of the characteristics of a plural society but two distinct and very separate groups do co-exist within the framework of one political and social unit.

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*"market place" is used to mean not only places of economic transactions but also places of work and of public life.

We hope that this rather brief description and analysis of University City as a community will at least provide a setting for the high school students and the high schools we have studied. A thorough description and analysis of the University City community would require a book of its own. It must be remembered that Forrest Park High School located as it is in northwestern University City draws its student population from the middle and upper middle class; while Palmetto High School is situated in the southeast which is predominantly black and is more heterogenous in socio-economic terms. Both schools opened in 1970 as new high schools built to satisfy the court order to desegregate. Neither has completed four years as a school unit. Forrest Park was able to achieve a ratio of 81 percent white to 19 percent black while Palmetto High School came to have a ratio of 45 percent black to 55 percent white which is less representative of the population of the city and county as a whole. Busing was necessary in both cases to achieve these ratios of black and white in their student bodies. Desegregation is a recent and incomplete process in these schools.

Even more important, it must be remembered that this is a new experience for the young blacks and whites who are involved. Both groups came to this experience with little basis or background for association with members of the other racial group. The only rules or norms of interaction with members of the other racial group which they may have learned from their families are limited to what we have called market place behavior. They have had little experience as yet in market place realms of life. It may be argued that a school is a market place (i.e. a public institution). If this is so, one might expect the norms of on the job behavior to apply and that following the models of the adults, each group would seek to work together at school but each would retire into itself after the work-day (school day) was over. To a certain extent, this is true and the behavior of black and white students holds true to this pattern. But we see the school as somewhat different from a factory, a hospital, or a business office. The situation is, at least in theory, more intimate and egalitarian. And, since a school takes up about six hours of one's day, it is certainly a different social situation than the rapid and casual encounters of black and white in public places such as the post office, the supermarket, and the playground.

There is no traditional etiquette of race relations for a school and new norms of interaction between blacks and whites are only now taking form in the new setting. Conflict might be expected and it is only a credit to both black and white students themselves that utter violence was avoided. Students of both groups came into a new situation ill prepared by their families and their society to cope with one another. How a *modus vivendi* has taken form between black and white in this new setting is the subject of our research. So far, in the words of one black mother what has happened is "desegregation without integration". And, these very words might also be applied to the society of University City.

IV

THE STUDENT SYSTEM AND THE CLASSROOM

The American high school, when contrasted with secondary schools in other areas of the world, exhibits a remarkable uniformity. Yet closer scrutiny reveals wide-ranging diversities that arise from the multiple factors found in a complex and heterogeneous society. The two high schools, Palmetto and Forrest Park, in which this research has been carried on conform to the American pattern in their basic organization and curriculum. Furthermore, their identical architectural design strengthens the initial impression of alikeness. But behind this facade of comparable physical and social structure there reside subtleties of variation which give to each a distinctive style.

The most obvious initial impression which the observer carries away from a first visit to either Palmetto or Forrest Park high school is the racial separation of students in the classroom seating patterns. White and black students voluntarily choose to sit among their own kind and apart from each other. Further observation establishes that slight variations are expressive of complicated nuances in social relationships and status.

For the uninitiated the near universal separation of whites from blacks in classroom seating is a startling fact for schools which are supposedly integrated. As further knowledge is gained, however, this fact becomes understood as a manifestation of social and cultural reality reaching into the community from which the students come, linked to a prevailing student system of values and behavior, and furthered by school organization and curriculum. As a single fact it is as current parlance phrases it "only the tip of the iceberg". Other dimensions of the whole have been examined elsewhere; in the sections on community, extracurricular activities, and student friendship groups. It is in this segment of the report that we direct our attention toward behavior in the classroom.

Some knowledge of the academic program in these two high schools is necessary in order to understand the basic social arrangements and variations within them. Our own rendering of that program is somewhat different from the formal organization of the curriculum. The official plan recognizes a variety of specializations, such as language arts, mathematics, physical education, and art, with the personnel responsible for teaching these subjects grouped by departments under a chairman. In contrast, the criteria we found useful for classifying courses in the program include the instructors expectations of student performance, the type of skill being developed, and background and goal expectations of students enrolled.

Utilizing these criteria a tripartite division emerges each section of which reflects social, pedagogical, and cultural reality. We shall label these the academic, the vocational, and the general.

The academic program attempts to sharpen intellectual skills to a high level of competency. The courses are organized to be exclusionary in the advanced work offered in the humanities, sciences, or mathematics. Students are pointed toward higher education and professional careers. They come from affluent homes. They are actively engaged in extra-curricular activities, except for major interscholastic sports. Their friendship subsystems are bi-sexual, the only segment of the student system where this is found to be true. One example is found in the Advanced Reading class at Forrest

Park. Its 30 odd male and female students were, in their discussion of the classics of literature, continuing for that period the recurring joining and rejoining of a select group that moved through the daily formal and informal activities as a loosely knit body of similars. Other types of whites, and blacks, were absent since none had those qualities which would admit them to the circle.

Another social-pedagogical division groups those students, courses, and instructional personnel that constitute the vocational area. Its curriculum being accepted as more practical and carrying no invidious overtones of elitism had become more visible by the official sanctions bestowed in the labels such as Cooperative Business Education, Diversified Cooperative Education, Agri-Business Center and Booker T. Washington vocational center. The goal orientations of students, the acquisition of technical skills to prepare them for post high school employment, led to expectations on the part of instructors and fulfillment by the students, of serious application by the students. Observation in these classes verified the expectations. But the behavior of these students also verified the social divisions, the internal groupings, and the differing perspectives which they brought with them into the school and which they acted out both within and outside of the classroom.

The black-white and male-female separation is particularly evident where the two sexes and races meet in the classroom. Furthermore, sex separation in particular is reinforced by a curriculum which reflects sex identified occupations of the society. Girls train to be typists, nurses aides, dressmakers; boys acquire mechanical and agricultural skills. The separation is maintained outside the classroom in the friendship clusterings.

An example will help to illustrate the point. The enrollment of a mechanical drawing class was composed of black and white males. Although students completed class assignments as individuals the nature of the work and the relaxed atmosphere created by the instructor permitted students to wander about and receive help from others. Students worked industriously and were absorbed in their tasks. There were no discipline problems. There was no racial patterning in the distribution of students by assigned desks. The giving and receiving of help, always a voluntary choice of the student was, however, strictly patterned along racial lines. Blacks chose blacks and whites chose whites.

The third major segment we have called the general curriculum area. The courses offered here are the routine, run-of-the-mill type that elicit enthusiasm from neither teachers nor students. They do not hone the intellect nor transmit technical skill. Those who successfully survive their hum-drum mediocrity are eventually awarded the high school diploma although they are not prepared for any specific vocation.

Those students in a general program follow this path. Whatever the degree of aimless drift they bring into the school environment there is little there to give them challenge except for those who excel in the major sports. These latter, few in numbers, are highly visible in their accomplishments and provide a rallying point of enthusiastic loyalty from their peers. At times, such as homecoming, the intensity of enthusiasm rises to such a pitch that it supercedes the academic purposes.

Among these students the attributes of sex and race are almost always rigidly observed as a factor in informal activities and in the classrooms. But within this double dichotomy the friendship clusterings appear as a significant contributor to social cohesion. In fact these divisions and clusterings give an orderliness to the classroom that if understood by the teacher assists the instructional process. Where the teacher attempts to impose his or her idea of classroom structure confusion will ensue. Some extracts from the field notes will present the detail.

> Students entered the class through either front or back doors as well as from the fire escape. The teacher entered through the front door as had the majority of the students who had claimed their seats when she arrived. The room had been divided into black and white space by the students without any direction from the teacher. The black students sat together. While the roll was being called they wrote notes, whispered, communicated non-verbally, and even prepared to sleep. One time during the roll call, after many attempts to get the students' attention, the teacher held up a social adjustment referral slip and commented, "If you can't get quiet, I will see if I can't refer you to the dean for social adjustment placement." At this point, the students began to settle down. The order that came in the classroom was short-lived.
>
> In an adjacent class in the same large room there was some disturbance. Students had been discussing slavery and the teacher had pronounced "negro" in a manner that was distasteful to the black students. They looked at each other. Some laughed. Others rolled their eyes at the teacher. One fellow left the class. The disturbance there spread to the class where the teacher with the social adjustment referral slip was teaching and she lost what little control she had. The teacher did not understand all of the dynamics which led to the confusion. She did, however, continue to lecture to the students. The material was well prepared. Meanwhile, the majority of the students enjoyed themselves in private conversations. The teacher sought to separate the trouble makers. They were physically separated but began to write notes, giggle, and snicker. She tried to ignore their behavior and continued talking to the larger group. Some girls even began to exchange pieces of clothing -- a sweater (yellow) for a sweater (red) in preparation for the next day. "My red shoes will match your brown skirt and white blouse nicely. Take my red shoes and give me your yellow sweater. Tomorrow we will look like we have on new outfits."
>
> Most of the notes taken from the teacher's lecture were written on single pieces of paper. At the end of the period, the males placed their single pieces of paper in their pockets and walked out. Several females placed their notes in their pocket books or asked a friend to keep them. Four students had notebooks that looked organized.
>
> Five minutes before the end of the period, the students had packed their books and moved to the door. Throughout the period students had glanced at the clock. One could sense students relaxing as the period was coming to an end. As students stood at the door waiting for the bell, other students from different classes entered through the doors, and exited through the fire escapes. The teacher tried to redirect these students to the corridors, but the number was too large to turn them around as they advanced through her classroom.

The scene described here was a commonplace of this classroom where a cluster of black females continuously disrupted the class and where other students were inattentive. When we probed deeper into comparable situations involving other teachers and subject matter we discovered that such confusion was either the consequence of the social ineptness of the teacher or of the style of pedagogy; that those who, either consciously or unconsciously, worked with instead of against the student system had other experiences. One such example demonstrates the importance of the student leadership role. The extract is taken from an interview with a teacher.

> Q. Have you ever had a situation in which a black girl would take leadership and quiet down disorderly behavior.
>
> A. Yes. A couple of years ago we had such a girl. She was elected student council president here too and she used to take over in class. And if I got to her, I got to the rest of the class. I mean, whether the class behaved or not, depended on her. Very definitely. For instance, when Deborah was in my class, and the class was predominantly black, she handled it for me in some ways. When she and I were at loggerheads, then I was at odds with the whole class. I remember taking her outside once and saying "Look, kiddo, you're a leader and you gotta help me." I mean, I just laid it right on the line to her. I said, "You know they do what you say. And if your attitude is lousy, their's is going to be lousy, and we're all going to lose out -- the whole class." And when we got done, she said "OK", and I never really had serious trouble after that.

From the examples cited thus far and from those which are to follow it is possible to make some general observations about the nature of behavior that occurs in the classroom. Thus far attention has been directed toward the congruence between the three major subdivisions in the school program and the types of students attracted to them. But variations among students is not fortuitous. They are consequences of social cleavages in the community whether they be based on race, sex, or economic affluence and manners. Some students come from family situations which prepare them better for courses demanding intellectual skills than others who are more manually and vocationally oriented. Furthermore if students are imbued with a world view in which blacks and whites are separate and if their experiences confirm this then racial mixing is the variant and racial separation the normal expectancy. In addition, there are certain styles of interpersonal behavior, varying by race and class and appearing in small group clusterings that reinforce the expected and the normal. Finally, there is the situation of the classroom itself, its formal aspects dictated by official sanctions and pedagogical practice which may be in accord with or destructive of the world view and interpersonal behavior which students bring with them into the school setting. It is to this latter aspect of the problem that we now turn.

Teaching Techniques and Group Response:

The contrasting responses of blacks and whites to teaching style is illustrated in the following case. The events described here emphasize once again that the pattern of grouping that students bring into the classroom is a powerful factor affecting their response to the teaching process.

The principle of individualized instruction was utilized by a young, white female teacher in her ninth grade, general math class at Forrest Park. The class period began when manila folders containing each student's work were distributed to the class. Students were to work at their own pace, completing as many work sheets as possible during each class period. The teacher conferred with students individually as they proceeded with their task. Hence the applicable technique imposed an isolated work pattern on an individual basis and interaction between teacher and student only. It did not permit cooperative efforts by groups of students nor concerted efforts of the class as a whole to work together on any given problem. This teaching technique is responded to differently by the black and white students in the class.

When whites arrive in class, they take their seats and begin working on the material in their folders. Certainly some of them pursue their assignments more industriously than others, but these students are quiet, attentive to the task and only occasionally will they quietly address another white student sitting near them in a casual manner. Their orderly approach to the task is congruent with the technique.

The black students, particularly the black females, respond quite differently in this situation. These students enter class talking loudly to each other. They continue this interaction pattern in the class although the teacher tries to establish order. Frequently, they challenge the teacher's authority and attempt to arouse other students in their behalf against the teacher.

An excerpt from the field notes describes some of the detail:

> As I arrived in the class the black, female students were nosily running around the room loudly calling to one another, frequently going from their seats to speak to friends in the hall. The teacher called repeatedly for order. After 10 minutes of class had elapsed the students began to work on their tasks. The teacher walked through the rows talking to the students about their work. Two black females were talking loudly in the back, one brought her cosmetics and begins to change her fingernail polish. The teacher stops at a black male's desk and he asks her how many points he will get for the sheet he was working on. The teacher replied that he wouldn't get any because he was cheating, that he should have been working independently without other papers -- for that was not a work sheet but a test. The student began to protest loudly that he did not know it was a test but the teacher was not swayed by his pleas. One of the black females then asked the teacher how many points she had accrued, the teacher replied after looking in her grade book -- 17. The girl then immediately replied that that was more work than she had ever done and she should get an A. The teacher said no, if she didn't get to work promptly for the rest of the semester she would certainly get an F. At this juncture another black girl yelled across the room, "What will you do if I don't get you next year?" The teacher replied, "But you will." The student retorted, "But I'm not going to this school next year.", and the two other girls loudly agreed.

This pattern of behavior on the part of black females persisted during those days when a substitute conducted the class. In fact, the intensity of black interation increased. The substitute took longer to get the group to work, and some students never worked on their material but continued to talk loudly and walked around the classroom for the entire period.

On a few occasions when the regular procedures were modified through assignment of alternative tasks marked changes in the interaction patterns appeared. This occurred when students were graphing equations using needle and thread to produce the geometrical designs. This task did not require any mathematical ability after the initial drawing was done and the end result was an attractive wall hanging. Students watched each others' work progress with interest. They remained in their seats talking quietly with one another and worked industriously on their projects. There was no loud confrontation between students and teacher that was evident on other days. Otherwise, the continuing conflict between the black students and the teacher raged throughout the semester. None of her attempts to bring order was successful. Neither seating arrangement changes nor suspensions from class changed the behavior of the black students. The teacher contacted parents but this action did not alter the students' behavior either. The white students in the meantime maintained a stance of discreet aloofness from the turmoil.

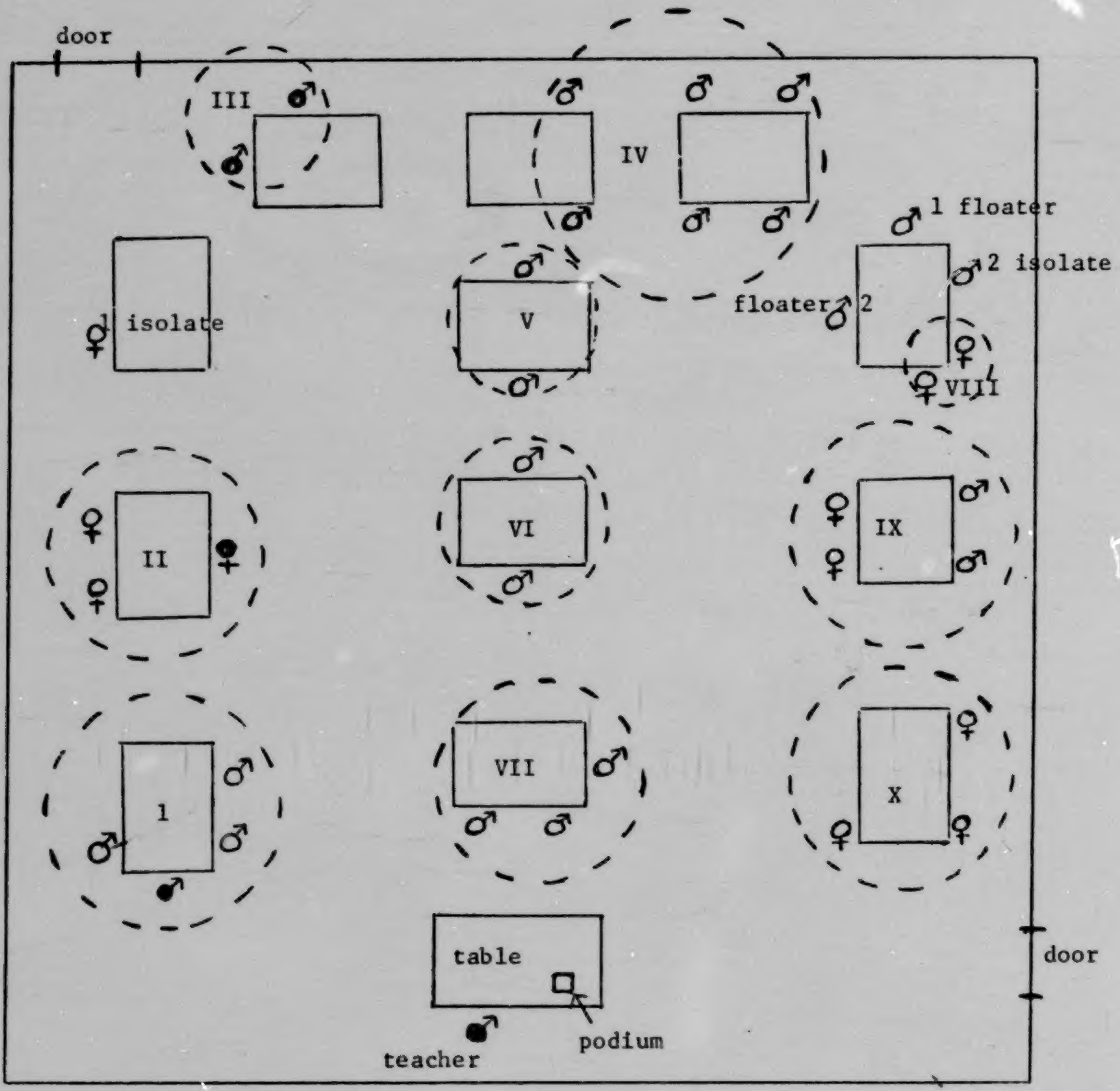
The dramatic sequel in this episode appeared during the second semester and clearly establishes that the difficulty did not arise out of a black-white confrontation, as a superficial interpretation might suggest, but from the imposition of a teaching technique that was disruptive of black group behavior.

In the second semester after the new classes were formed, most of these same black students continued together in their math class. The new class was team-taught by three math teachers which permitted a large number of students to be enrolled in the class section. The class was subdivided daily by ability groupings depending upon the material to be covered; each group working with one of the teachers. Here the teacher would stand in front of her section and the small group would work together on the problem. Students would lean over their desks looking at their neighbors answer, trying to get the problem solved before the teacher had completed hers on the board. In this class the black females were not disruptive. It should be noted that they frequently worked with the same teacher that they had the preceeding semester but that the pattern of interaction between them had altered. In the new situation the students worked together as a group with the teacher and each other to solve problems, not individually without group support.

When these girls' were asked how they liked the new class arrangement one commented that she did not like it when she was placed in the dummy group but that she did like the new class because she got more attention from the teacher. The other girls gathered around agreed. Working together as a group with the teacher rather than receiving individualized assistance on independent work, was perceived by them as getting more attention. These students preferred attention to the group and to work in group situations.

The prevalence, persistence and stability of groupings among student is further exemplified by continued observation over six months of a ninth grade level world history class. The black male instructor, who was also an assistant football coach, ran a tight ship. Only four blacks were in this class of 35 students. The group pattern that persisted throughout the several months of observation included ten clusterings of two or more students, three floaters, and two isolates. The seating pattern as shown in the diagram was also stable throughout this period.

SEATING PATTERN - HISTORY CLASS


door
III
IV
1 floater
2 isolate
1 isolate
V
floater 2
VIII
II
VI
IX
1
VII
X
table
door
teacher
podium

A brief description of these groups includes: Group I are all 10th grade males who are active in the high school athletic program. The black male incorporated in this group may indicate a carry over association from football. Group II is composed of sophomore girls who are also active in the high school athletic program and are intellectually superior. The black female is a regular member of this grouping. (All remaining students are ninth graders.) Isolate 1 is a new student from a neighboring state who joined the class at mid year and never became a part of any group. Group III members are a pair of black males who do not associate with any other members of the class, including the black male teacher. Members of Group IV and Group VII are average students and who have been known to disturb the class with their intragroup talking, laughing, etc. Floater 1 is labelled a "hippy". He may study in class with members of Group IV or sit with members of Group I. Groups V and VI are each pairs. They are considered intellectually more superior and both pairs are interested in math and science. Although a member of the class since the first day of school, isolate 2 does his own work and rarely associates with his classmates. The pair of females comprising Group VIII are considered elite socialites. They do not usually associate with any other classmates and do superior work. They are connected outside of class to elites in the senior class who are considered the leaders of the high school. Floater 2 associates with members of Groups IV, VII, and IX. He may study or visit with them. Members of Group IX are unique in that they are cross-sexual. They are all active in the drama club and generally do average to above average classwork. Floater 3 usually associates with members of Group IX although she occasionally studies or visits with Group VIII and X members. Group X is composed of a ninth grader and a senior. They have minimal contact with other class members while studying or socializing.

The social organization of the classroom as expressed in interaction among students is stable as well and altered little during the six months it was observed. Briefly, the basic patterns of interaction among these students who are group members include the following: The most studious member of Group I visits with Group II members. Group I members study among themselves. Members of Groups II and III almost always visit and study among themselves, respectively. Members of Group IV visit and study with members of Groups VII and occasionally V. Group V members usually visit and study with each other. Group VI members most often study with each other. Group VI members most often study with each other but may visit with members of Groups VII and IX. Group VII members study or visit with members from Groups VI, IV, and IV. Group IX members usually study and visit within their group boundaries but occasionally share work or socialize with members of Group VI.

Participation among these students in the formal activity program as well as their personal interests, rather than race, are the deciding factors in the informal clustering in this classroom. Two of the four blacks are incorporated into informal groupings and these are the blacks that participate in the activity program. The other two blacks are not participants and interact outside the classroom only with other blacks. These groupings are both age graded and sexually segregated with the exception of one male/female grouping and a senior freshmen pair group. In addition, members of groupings possessing similar attributes most often visit or study together in the classroom.

One further dimension involves student behavior during class instruction time. The members of Groups II, V, VI, and VIII actively respond to the formal questioning or call for discussion by the teacher. These same students also freely initiate to the teacher during class discussions. Members of Groups I, IV, and VII sometimes informally chat with their teacher in class and outside of class in the mall or cafeteria. The remaining students have minimal interaction with their teacher and do not respond unless upon request. Thus interactional style also seems to be a group-related characteristic.

What should be remembered from this example is that although sex, age, and race are significant variables for group membership the situational setting may encourage an alteration of this pattern.

The Racial Dimension:

Differences between blacks and whites and their separate and presumed co-existence are as much a fact of life to the students as is the status difference between themselves and teachers or the existence of two sexes. What is of concern, however, is any encroachment or violation of integrity by members of the opposing race. Such violations of the unwritten student code of co-existing separation can lead to recrimination or violence, depending upon the situation and the race of the offended party. What is resented, however, is any evidence of unequal treatment by administrators or teachers of students based on racial identity. Such suspected or actual violation of this demand for equity would immediately lead to the charge of racism. Such allegations need not be made along racial lines although most such accusations we encountered were of cross-racial bias. For example, white teachers could favor black students, or black administrators favor white students.

The official view of the racial problem seemed to be a contradictory one of color blindness to ensure equitable treatment on the one hand, but considered intervention on the other, due to imposed legal necessities, in which decisions were clearly made on a racial basis. The express stipulations governing the use of funds derived from state and federal sources forced such a posture.

In addition to the official conditions affecting school operation there were, of course, the varied dispositions of the staff and of students. There were, for example, some teachers, as was also true of some students, whose sense of democratic justice went beyond mere observance of legal integration, and who wanted to achieve a harmonious inter-racial mixing. The harmony that eventuated in the racial co-existence was due less to their efforts than to the practice of racial separation observed by the students and even imposed by them on the official system. Some early attempts to achieve a racially intermingled seating arrangement was rather quickly abandoned in favor of the now prevalent voluntary choice practice. The recollection of one teacher exemplifies the situation as recorded from an interview.

> She then went on to describe her attempt to get a mixed seating pattern, scattering the blacks and the whites among each other. She explained, not in this context but later, that it was her feeling that part of the development of a student should be to bring them into contact with individuals and situations that they normally wouldn't encounter and that this would then add to their ability to live in the world. Hence one of the ways in which you achieve this broadening of the individual was to bring people of different backgrounds, such as black and white,

together they then begin to have an understanding that they could not have had otherwise. So that this was the purpose behind her belief that mixing them in the classroom was a desirable thing to do. Furthermore, where she had taught in Virginia there had never been in the mixed schools the kind of separation between blacks and whites which she experienced here.

Her first attempt to accomplish this was done in a round-about way in which after about the first two or three days of class when she saw how the whites and blacks grouped themselves separately within the classroom she said to them that being old and a bit senile that she had difficulty in remembering their names and the only way she was going to learn their names quickly was to put them in some kind of an order so that she could identify them with their names and this she wanted to do. After this explanation she then assigned them seats, so that there was a mixing of the blacks and whites together. At the beginning of the third day after this seat assignment had taken place a black girl walked into the room and said to her, whatever it is that you said you had to do your time is now up and you have now had a chance to learn our names and we can sit where we want to. Others laughed at what had been said and they all proceeded then to move back to the seats which they had occupied previously and which reflected the pattern of the black and white separation.

This story was followed by another account to illustrate the same point. She had in the class two white girls, one of whom was the daughter of a professor at the University. These two girls asked her if she (the teacher) thought the black girls would object if they sat among them or with them. She replied that she saw no reason why if they wanted to sit with the black girls they shouldn't. So the two girls moved over at the next class session to the table where blacks were seated and this continued for a couple of days but on about the third day the two black girls at this table left it and moved over and sat separately leaving the white girls all alone. She said that after class she went over to the two black girls, who had been engaged in an animated conversation during the entire class period probably about who had broken up with whom or something of that sort and she said to them, "Did you know that you hurt somebody's feelings?" and one or both of the girls said no, that they didn't know they had hurt anybody's feelings. What had they said to anyone to hurt anybody's feelings? She replied that it wasn't what you said that hurt the feelings but it was that you sat over here leaving those two girls who were trying to be friendly with you, alone, and those girls undoubtedly think that you are avoiding them. This one girl then turned to her and said, "It ain't a gonna work when you ain't got nothin' to talk about."

Once again in these two instances, as was evident in earlier examples, the black-white separation goes much deeper than mere racial antipathy. The separateness asserted by blacks is rooted in earlier associations and a style of life that resists intrusions. Black aggressiveness, which some white students complained about, should not be interpreted as a desire to be included but as an assertion of identity. And the friendly advance of the two white girls was never intended to be more than a superficial acquaintance -- the relationship could never reach the intensity of reciprocal exchange of intimacies that the blacks achieved.

A situation somewhat different from those described above illustrates the extent to which students will go to preserve racial separation. A teacher at Palmetto High who had taken her class to the media center (library) to instruct them in the use of the card catalogue in preparation for writing a book report was also in charge of collecting fares for a chartered bus to an out-of-town football game. She held a list of names of those who had signed to go. The field report continues:

> Black and white students, males and females, came to see the list. The students who were working on their book reports also wanted to see the list and some inquired about it on several occasions within a 30-40 minute period. After surveying the list, some students would make comment: "Ah! Sha!" and others would say "damn" and walk away. Everyone appeared to know exactly what was going on except me (researcher). One young woman, black, came into the media center, exchanged a few words with the teacher, and then asked in a gentle tone, "What color will the bus be -- black or white!"
>
> Near the end of the period, I noticed some of the students inquiring about the refund of their money because they had changed their minds about taking the trip. The students who asked, did so by simply stating that they would like their refund. No money was given to the students during the class period. The instructor told the students to please see her a little later. The bus had then become a "black bus".
>
> When inquiry was made about the importance of the list, the instructor responded that the bus will either be predominately black or predominately white. Originally, students who really desired to go place their names on the list, regardless of color. Then students wait to see what will happen. At the last moment students make their inquiry. If two buses were making the trip, the instructor speculated that one bus would be white and the other would be black. As one student commented after he looked at the list, "Each race feels funny with the other one around. It is not cross racial fun, it is inter-racial fun (meaning intra-racial)."
>
> Once the bus issue seemed to have been settled as to the racial domination students let others know the outcome. After the students left the media center, the instructor commented that the "whites go their way; the blacks go their way; the whites take up for the whites and the blacks take up for the blacks -- there is little integration!"

There are some students who do not fit the patterns we have been describing. Their exceptionality deserves comment not only because of their rarity but because they also give us deeper insight and actually confirm the regularities.

Among blacks there are a few students who have opted for intellectual attainment. They are members of the honor societies and are enrolled in Latin or advanced math and science courses. They do not limit themselves to black friendships and in at least two cases are courting white girls. If they go far enough in the direction of white association and style of behavior they become the targets of abuse from other blacks. Most of these, however, maintain positions in both black and white groups and either because of this or as a consequence are respected school leaders.

The position of whites seems somewhat different. The few girls who date black males seem to suffer no ostracism from their white peers but they gain no acceptance from black females. The few males who are friendly to blacks never gain real acceptance as a group member. Friendship is more of a casual sort that is easily broken.

In general, the white group seems far more receptive to inclusion of blacks than vice versa.

Conclusion:

There is a long standing belief among educators that the instructional process cannot proceed unless the teacher is in control of the class. Granted that control may vary from the pure physical capability of a teacher to enforce order through use of a hickory stick or rubber hose, as was done less than a century ago, to the more subtle maneuvering of someone skilled in applying psychic sanctions, the evidence from this research throws serious doubts on the validity, even the pedagogical and ethical justification for the use of such a concept.

In those classrooms where we witnessed the orderly cooperation between teacher and learners in the acquisition of some skill, there was neither submission nor dominance. These were the classrooms in which there was concordance between the student system and the formal objectives of the school. In those classrooms where there was disorder, it arose because of the teachers confrontation with the student system and the attempt to impose an official or pedagogical model on students. In no way does this mean that the teacher must submit to the disruption of a handful of gossipy, giggling girls, or to the implied no-cooperation permitted between blacks and whites or males and females as they sequester themselves from each other. Quite to the contrary. Paradoxically in the very few highly successful teaching situations we observed race and sex differentiation had disappeared in the unified efforts of students to achieve a common goal.

Students reflect the alliances and divisions of the community from which they come. These can be helpful or hurtful. But for good or ill the students do bring the makings of an orderly, not necessarily tension-free, system with them. The manner in which the educational enterprise is run must either reckon with this student system in a deliberate and constructive way, or continue to alienate students and subvert educational gaols by adhering to the position that an imposed organization and pedagogy is the route to educational success.

V

THE SOCIAL USE OF SPACE

Architecturally, Forrest Park and Palmetto High Schools are not unlike identical twins. Only one plan emerged from the drawing boards but when completed it served as a guide for two schools which were built at the same time. Single story in modern style and located on spacious grounds, linked appendages extend outward from a central plaza with an adjacent combined gymnasium and basketball court.

The physical structure conceived by the architect and created by a builder reveals in clear outline the organizational and educational intent of the planners. The instructional and curricular objectives were to be met in the variety of classrooms and laboratories where students and teachers would assemble to pursue knowledge and skills in the humanities, sciences, vocations and arts. The accompanying functions of an assembled group that would research, or eat were given their special locations, and a nest of compacted offices was to house administrators and staff.

These arrangements give emphasis to one dominant organizational feature, that of the separation between students and staff -- a two-tier hierarchy expressing the status differential of age and formally legitimated achievement. Subdivisions within the upper level could be more readily observed in the physical arrangements than could the age-divisions of the lower level. Only one other differentiating human aspect was recognized, and that primarily through labelling rather than as an architectural element, namely, differences between males and females. For reasons of propriety sex identity was accepted as requiring spatial separation in the areas of bodily functions only -- for toilets and dressing and shower rooms in the gymnasium. These sex functions are necessary but hardly significant aspects of an educational enterprise.

The preceding comments have been intended to direct attention to the organizational emphasis expressed in the architectural structure of the two schools in which the research was conducted and in so doing to also draw attention to those categories of human attributes and types of groupings for which no intended physical recognition has been given. Specifically, no attention is directed to the differences which exist in the school population that were based on race, ancestry, religion, family background, intellectual capability, group membership and behavior, or other such characteristics. These variables, however, permeate every facet of the administrative, instructional, extra-curricular, and informal group life of staff and students. They provide the dynamics without which the operation of the educational system can not be understood. In their influence on behavior they give meaning to the space which brick, concrete and wood enclose and divide, and to the consequences of the attempts of the consciously organized system to achieve stated goals. They are the ingredients which determine the success or failure of the teaching and learning process.

These preliminary remarks have set the framework within which the results of one segment of the research can be better understood. That research objective was to determine the specifics of the spatial setting, the distribution and location of types of activities, time sequencing, the spatial expression of status, sex, age, and racial divisions; territorial patterning; and a comparison between the two schools in these areas.

With these objectives in mind we can now turn to some of the findings.

School personnel in each of the two schools exhibited remarkably similar patterns of spatial use and territorial division. Some of the similarity may be due to the fact that both schools were built on the same architectural design. Comparability in their table of organization accounts for other similarities. In addition to the bureaucratic factors, cultural and social dimensions of age, sex, race, and status were also seen as aspects of territorial patterning. Hence the similarities and differences in the social organization of the school should be revealed in comparison of use of space.

Observation established relatively soon that school personnel did not utilize space in a random fashion, but instead the school personnel assembled, engaged in specific activities, and dispersed with considerable regularity. The full extent of regularities, however, took some time to discern, and required a detailed analysis of the use of space over time. All types of assemblages including those in offices and classrooms; special areas such as the cafeteria, the media center, the auditorium, and the restrooms; and the free spaces such as the mall and the grounds were recorded and mapped. From this procedure came the specification of groups, activities, time, and sequence. The discovery of the natural or friendship groups among staff and students posed a particularly difficult problem. Initially only unknown individuals moving randomly seemed to be the case.

Notes recorded by one observer on the first day of his visit to a school provides a description of the physical plants and initial impressions.

> "Palmetto is located about 150 yards from a main road and the only indication that a school is nearby is a small sign that says Palmetto High School with an arrow directing people down a small side road. As I turned right onto the road to the school a number of yellow school buses were unloading students at a covered corridor on the south end of the red brick school. Arriving at the bus loading area, I noticed a baseball field to the right of the building.
>
> To get into the parking lot I had to turn left and pass the front lawn of the school which is directly in front of the administrative wing of the school. Once in the parking lot, a large building which could only be the gym was visible at the left rear of the school, somewhat away from the other buildings.
>
> The time for school to begin was approaching and there were therefore a large number of students milling about. Some were standing alone, others were in groups of two's and three's. I noted that there were no bi-racial groups. Although I could see these clusters of students, the groups seemed to be walking about with little regard as to what part of the school the group was in. (It was not until much later in the field research that the regularities in the students' behavior was recognized.)
>
> As I walked from the parking lot to the front door of the school, I noticed that each classroom had a glass door to the outside about one and a half feet off the ground. These doors are fire escapes and are not used for entering or leaving the rooms.

Upon entering the building, I passed through a hallway between the administrative wing of the school and one of the classroom wings. Lockers for student use were located on the wall of the classroom wing.

The front of the administrative wing faced a central open space called 'the mall'. In the mall there are large concrete planters which also serve as benches. To the right of the mall is the library which I soon learned is called the 'media center'. To the left is the auditorium which has a band room and a chorus room at the rear. Across the mall from the administrative wing is the cafeteria.

The students in the mall appeared to me to be engaging in the same activities as those out front. They were walking in small groups and chatting. They also exhibited the same excitement associated with the first day of school that I had noted outside the building.

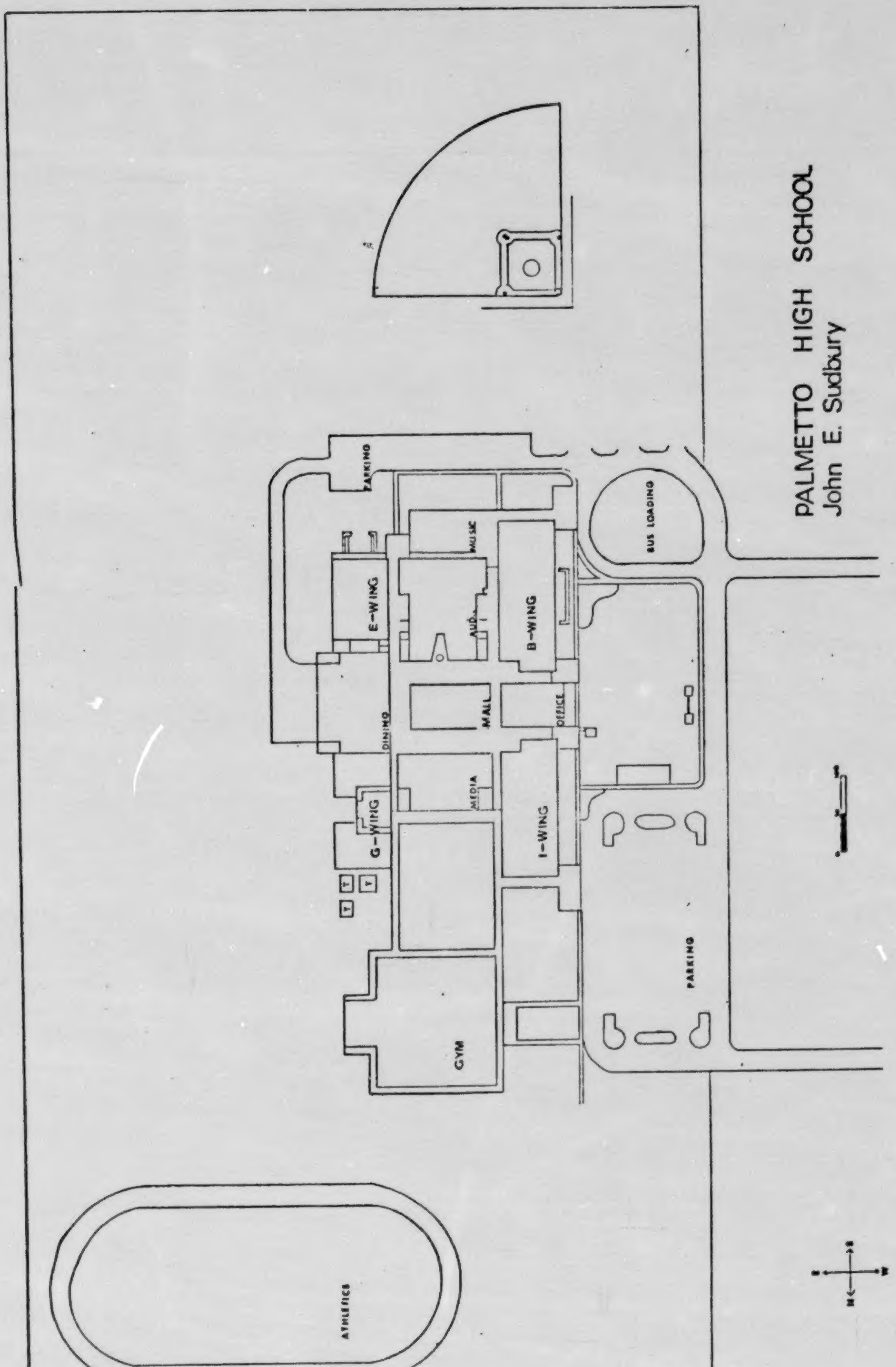
I entered the office in order to announce my presence to the principal. The office was full of activity. Students were passing through, saying hello to the principal and the teachers who were in the office. Teachers were rushing in and out. The secretaries were busy answering the phones and shuffling papers. The office was such a flurry of activity that I said good-morning to the office personnel and hurried back outside to begin a tour of the rest of the school.

Upon leaving the office I turned left and went down the corridor between the media center and I-wing. On the front door of I-wing is a sign which says 'Social Studies and Language Arts'. By the time I arrived in front of I-wing, a bell had rung and students were rapidly pouring into classrooms. Each had been assigned a homeroom by grade level and by initial of last name.

The homeroom I attended was in a large room. The room contained two classes of about thirty students each. There was a teacher on each end of the room. The tables at which the students sat were arranged in two semi-circles so that the students were facing the teacher whose roll they were on.

A bell rang ten minutes after homeroom had started and the students immediately began filing out of the room. The corridors were filled with students walking rapidly to their classes. I crossed the courtyard behind the media center and arrived at G-wing which had a sign over the main entrance announcing this wing as the science wing. The classrooms in this area were all equipped with granite top lab tables equipped with sinks and gas jets.

After leaving G-wing, I turned left and walked past the cafeteria and arrived at E-wing which houses the art and industrial arts programs. In this wing, there is a wood shop whose presence was announced by the loud noises of the power equipment in the shop.



PALMETTO HIGH SCHOOL
John E. Sudbury

PARKING
MUSIC
E-WING
AUD.
B-WING
MALL
OFFICE
DINING
MEDIA
G-WING
I-WING
PARKING
GYM
BUS LOADING
ATHLETICS
N
S
E
W

> To finish my first tour around the school building, I walked behind the auditorium to the end of B-wing and began looking at the rooms. At the end of B-wing are home economics rooms, one is equipped with stoves and another with sewing machines. Beginning in the middle of the wing and extending down the rest of the wing toward the administrative building are rooms equipped with various office machines such as typewriters and calculators. I spent little time exploring this wing as the student population was entirely female except for a few males in the typing class. Somehow the invitations I received from the students to come into the classroom made me feel more uncomfortable than welcome."

As might be expected this first day tour missed spaces that were discovered later as important for describing the relationships of individuals. For example, no mention was made of the toilets, the "temporary" buildings, and much of the grounds surrounding the school. Restrooms for male and female students were attached to the media center and the auditorium. The gymnasium also had toilets, sinks, and showers in the locker rooms. Faculty and staff toilets were located in the administration building, adjacent to the faculty lounge, adjacent to the P.E. teachers' offices, and adjacent to the art teachers office. Hence the toilet facilities not only separates males and females, but also students from the staff.

"Temporary" buildings are wooden frame structures which are brought to the school and set on concrete blocks in order to allow the school some extra classroom space. Three of these structures are located next to G-wing.

The open space behind the school is used primarily as athletic fields by the physical education department for P.E. classes and varsity sports. A football field used for varsity football practice is behind the gym and around it is a clay track. This space and the rest of the open space is used seasonally for different activities. For example, during the fall it is used for football and soccer while during the spring it is used for volleyball and softball.

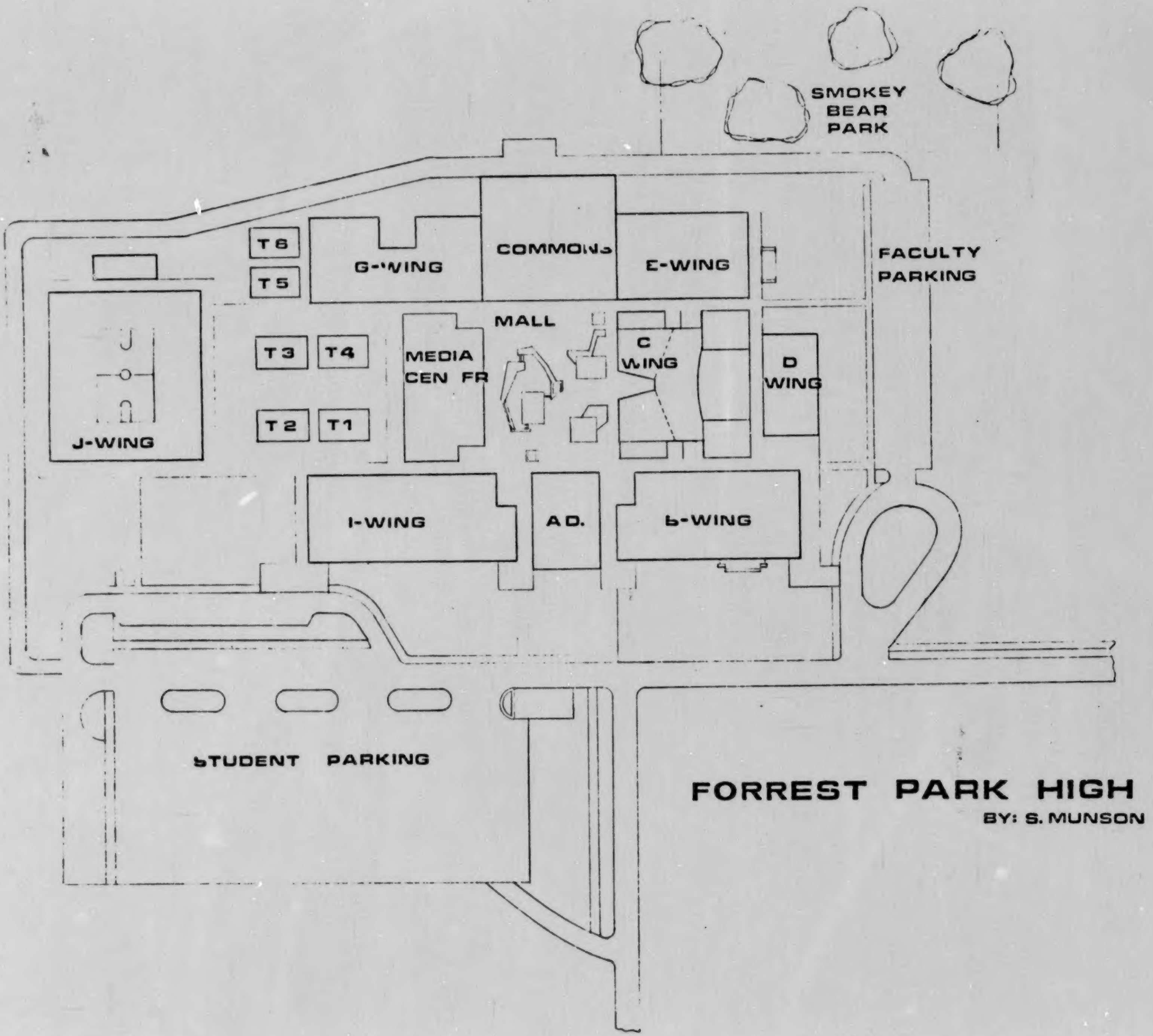
Space Differences Between Palmetto and Forrest Park

Although both schools were constructed on the same architectural plan there are some differences in the location of the temporary buildings and arrangement of the school grounds.

At Forrest Park, there are six rather than three temporary buildings. Two are located next to G-wing while the other four are in the courtyard between the media center and the gym. The location of temporary buildings between the media center and the gym means that a space which is an open space at Palmetto is classroom space at Forrest Park.

More students drive cars to school at Forrest Park than at Palmetto and a comparison of the student parking areas at the school reflects this difference. Forrest Park has almost twice as much student parking area in front of the school as Palmetto. Although Forrest Park has a slightly larger enrollment the greater number of student cars can be explained by the more affluent background of Forrest Park families when compared with Palmetto.

The location of the athletic fields is also different. The athletic fields at Forrest Park are in front rather than behind the school. The


SMOKEY
BEAR
PARK
FACULTY
PARKING
T6
T5
G-WING
COMMONS
E-WING
MALL
T3
T4
MEDIA
CENTER
C
WING
D
WING
J
J-WING
T2
T1
I-WING
AD.
F-WING
STUDENT PARKING

FORREST PARK HIGH

BY: S. MUNSON

availability of suitable areas affected the location and probably has little affect on use.

Some students at Forrest Park have cleared an area behind the school where they go to meet friends, talk, and smoke cigarettes. This area is equipped with benches and trash cans. Although Palmetto does not have an area formally designated as a park, students gather on the lawn in front of the administration building and B-wing or sometimes on the fringes of the surrounding woods. This will be discussed in more detail later.

A Classification of School Space

The architectural design of the schools divided space within the schools and on the surrounding grounds on the basis of an anticipated variety of activities. The plan called for classrooms, offices, parking lots, athletic fields, washrooms, cafeterias, etc.

Formally designated spaces are reserved for activities that are most closely associated with the formal school program. Teachers instruct students in classrooms. Offices are used for planning and administration.

Areas of special use include the media center, the auditorium, the cafeteria, and the bathrooms. The cafeteria and media center are staffed by a distinctive category of personnel. The cafeteria and auditorium may also double as classrooms. However, these special use areas differ from the formally designated spaces since they are available for use by anyone who conforms to the purpose for which they were intended. For example, any student may utilize the media center as long as proper behavior is observed. Likewise, the auditorium is available for any group to gather although faculty supervision would probably be required.

Unspecified or free spaces include those areas open to use by anyone with free time although the administration attempts to bring these areas under restricted use from time to time. These include the corridors, hallways, parking lots, and grounds. These are the locations where students gather in clusters and act out their group life.

Territory: An Introductory Statement

Space is an important dimension of territoriality but space and territory are by no means synonymous. A space is a physical setting while a territory is space which has been claimed. Territories arise from use, from assignments or from both and have boundaries which mark the limits of space. These boundaries may be easily recognizable such as by wall or be indicated by arrangement of furniture or a blackboard so placed between that it divides two classes in a double room. A boundary may even appear where there are no markers but be honored by groups of students who tacitly recognize territorial rights. Boundaries both define and separate groups and thus permits identification of membership of groups or personnel involved.

Examples of territories through assignment of space or through habitual use are listed below. The principal's office becomes his territory through both formal assignment and use. Teachers who habitually eat with each other at the same table in the lunchroom have established territorial rights but through a habitual use not formal assignment. However, if these teachers did not continue to use this space the territorial rights they had established would disappear.

Time is another important aspect of territory. A particular space may be one group's territory at noon and a half hour later may be occupied by another group. A space in the mall, for example, may be occupied by a group of four white females during the first lunch shift and then during the second lunch shift may be occupied by a group of six black females. Regularity in the sequencing must be observed otherwise tension would develop.

Hence a discussion of territoriality requires a discussion of who occupies what space, when, and how is the territory recognized and validated. In order to discuss territoriality at Palmetto and Forrest Park, the variable of what individuals occupy a space will be handled by discussing the territorial rights of particular task groups of school personnel, i.e., administrators, faculty and students.

The Administrators:

No noteworthy differences in the pattern of space behavior appeared when administrators at the two schools were compared. This uniformity prevailed despite differences in sex and race of the individuals occupying administrative positions. To what then may the similarity be attributed? The comparability of architectural design may have been a factor, but it seems more likely that the congruency was a consequence of the formal organizational structure of the schools. In no other area were factors of race and sex of such little consequence and this discovery seems to be of great significance.

The administrative staff of principal, assistant principals, deans, and secretaries have their formally assigned office space in the Administrative wing of the school, but their activities also take them to other areas of the school building and grounds. But there were areas, which although open to administrative entry, were visited infrequently or not at all.

The principal, being the senior ranking official, could theoretically move freely within the boundaries of the school. In reality, however, the principal in each school remained relatively stationary. Problems demanding their attention were usually brought to them. Hence, the principals spent most of their time in their offices.

The working day of the administrative staff began early, before students arrived, and ended late, usually after all the students and most of the teachers had departed. Only twice during the day, during the lunch-break and again at the end of the classes, was there any cessation in the flow of official demands. The slackened pace gave time for more casual comment on the day's events, even small talk and socializing. But even in these relaxed moments the regularities of time, space, and group appear as the detail which follows will show.

The comparison between the principals of the two schools is interesting although the principles apply to both. The principal of Forrest Park either ate late in the teacher's lounge with her assistant principal or in her office. Since they ate as late as possible the lounge was almost empty. The principal of Palmetto, on the other hand, did not eat in the teacher's lounge. By avoiding faculty members during lunch there was no necessity to establish informal relations and there was no trespassing on teachers' territory during the time it was occupied.

Informal interaction with other school personnel was primarily late afternoon after the students had left for the day. Each principal had a small group of teachers with whom he or she chatted. They usually gathered outside the principal's office. For example, the participants at Palmetto included the principal, the two assistant principals, the chairwoman of the Home Economics department, the chairwoman of the English department, and sometimes a business teacher. These discussions were usually held in the front of the administrative wing such group rarely assembled in the principal's office. If one of these teachers or other administrators entered the principal's office, it was for official purposes. Furthermore, the discussions in front of the administrative wing with the principal seldom involved serious matters.

The assistant principals showed a pattern of behavior similar to that of the principals except that they were less isolated from the faculty.

Faculty bring problems into their offices, but informal discussions occur outside. The assistant principals at Palmetto, unlike the principal, ate in the teacher's lounge, but oftentimes at the end of the lunch period. They also take tours of the school to see what is happening and will also visit classrooms.

The deans were the most free ranging personnel on either campus. Since they were responsible for student conduct they often walked around the school grounds and surrounding areas to see what students were up to. Students who found it necessary to disperse when they saw the dean coming considered the dean's arrival a definite intrusion.

The deans also had more informal interaction with teachers than the top administrators. In both schools, the deans ate with teacher groups. At Palmetto, for example, the dean usually ate with the coaches as he also had coaching duties.

Clerical workers in the administrative wing seldom rarely ventured far from their desks except at lunchtime. The secretaries at Palmetto ate lunch in a group in the teacher's lounge as did those from Forrest Park.

While all administrators theoretically had the right to travel freely about the school, it is clear that they did not exercise that right. The principals, by virtue of their top position occupy the apex of a communication system and can perform their tasks without leaving their offices. Other administrators have differential movements within the school depending on their duties.

The Faculty:

The formal use of space by teachers showed little variation either within the school or in a comparison between the schools. The best explanation for the basic similarity seems to be found in the almost exact replication of architectural design and table of organization. However, the factors of race, status, and age (in terms of numbers of years experience rather than biological age) assume greater importance than was found to be the case among administrators.

The faculty is formally divided into the departments of guidance, language arts, foreign languages, social studies, science, math, business education, music, industrial arts, art, physical education, and special education. Membership in these divisions reflect the teachers' fields of professional competence. These departments are grouped spatially and each teacher in the same department has been assigned a carrel in the same room, and if possible all teachers of a department are given classroom space in the same wing of the school plant.

In each school, the faculty carrels provided a work space for teachers as well as an informal gathering spot. The I-wing carrels were assigned to language arts and social studies teachers, the G-wing carrels to the science and math teachers, etc. Each wing had space for the teachers of the departments housed in the wing. Assignment of space based on departmental membership brings some teachers into frequent contact and keeps others separate. During class breaks, for example, the social studies and English teachers go into the teachers' work space in I-wing to pick up a book for the next class, have a cigarette, or to chat with other teachers. Furthermore, only the language arts and social studies teachers go into that area. If a math teacher had a class which met in I-wing she would still not go into the territory of the language arts and social studies teachers for an informal conversation. The case of an algebra teacher illustrates the phenomenon. Although she had classes that met in I-wing, her work space was with the science and math teachers in G-wing as were her informal associations. Furthermore, she did not enter the I-wing work space between classes.

During lunchtime, teachers had the longest block of time available for free association. Their grouping during lunch reveals therefore many of the divisions which occur on an informal level. Among teachers, unlike students, interaction of the formal level carries over to the informal. Department divisions were apparent in clusters in the teachers' lounge. At Forrest Park all teachers in the math department had their planning period during lunchtime so that they could plan together over lunch. There were also numerous examples of members of other departments eating together. The coaches and female P.E. instructors ate together at Palmetto as did all of the art teachers.

While the pattern of department members eating together was prevalent in both schools, it was by no means universal. One noticable factor other than department affiliation influencing the choosing of eating companions was race. At Forrest Park, the black teachers usually ate together at a table in the student lunch area. At Palmetto, the majority of black teachers ate with the black secretaries at three tables inside the teacher's lounge.

While most of the faculty members ate lunch in the teachers' lounge, there were teachers who did not eat there and some said they "studiously avoided" the teachers' lounge. One white male language arts teacher said he did not eat in the lounge because "all you ever hear are other teachers' prejudiced remarks about students." He either brought his lunch or went off campus to eat accompanied by a black female social studies teacher with one year teaching experience and a white female language arts teacher who was teaching for the first year. The male had six years of teaching experience. The teachers who avoided the teachers lounge were for the most part those with only a few years of teaching experience. They also have what other teachers label a "liberal" attitude toward teaching.

The voluntary seating pattern at faculty meetings is another indicator of group identification. Once established it remained consistent throughout the year. The seating patterns at the two school were somewhat different. At Forrest Park, teachers from the same department sat together except for the intrusive factor of race and marginality. For example, a group of four blacks habitually sat together on the outer margin of the room and the only three white teachers who did not sit with members of their respective departments isolated themselves next to the door.

Race, sex, marginality, and status were more evident in the seating pattern at Palmetto. Department chairmen and those who talked with administrators after school hours tended to cluster in the middle section of the room with separation drawn along racial lines. The black group included the head of the home economics and extracurricular activity programs, the faculty sponsor of student government, and the chairmen of social studies and science departments. Those seated in the rear of the room were younger white faculty and usually divided on the basis of sex rather than departmental affiliation. Some younger black were also found here. Administrators, guidance counselors and staff performing special services clustered toward the front.

Hence at both schools, the territorial patterns of the teachers reflected the formal system of departmental affiliation as well as informal groupings expressing age, sex and racial differences. The departmental divisions were most evident in assigned classroom and work space. Departmental divisions were also seen to some extent in the faculty lounge and in the faculty meetings. The formal and informal systems are not entirely congruent, however, as evidenced by voluntary clustering which expressed other values.

The Students

Students' use of space and the resultant territorial patterning at each school shows interesting similarities. These similarities may be attributed in part to comparability in the bureaucratic organization of the schools and the fact that both schools were built on the same architectural plan. But quite apart from these factors, the cultural and social characteristics of students seem far more important. Hence the variables of age, sex, race, and status help to explain the variety of friendship groups and their distribution in space. These groups constitute a complex social system involving status hierarchies, and the space a group occupies becomes identified with the group and therefore with its status. Once territorial rights have been defined, a student's place in the social system may be inferred by knowing what space he frequents. This section will focus on the similarities and differences in the informal clique patterns present in the two schools as reflected in the territorial patterning of students. The use of space at Palmetto High will be described first to be followed by a description of Forrest Park.

The majority (74%) of students at Palmetto ride school buses. As the students disembark, the pattern of racial separation of students is clearly evident since most buses are filled with either white or black students. This reflects the housing pattern of University City and is not a conscious policy of the school board.

As the students arrive in the morning they meet and join friends. It is a time of light-hearted rapping, joking, and courting. A majority of black students enter the school from the B-wing southern entrance while the whites walk to the front doors which face the west. This initial basic separation along racial lines continues throughout the day for all activities of an informal and voluntary kind and its influence extends to the seating patterns of classrooms. But the student system is also influenced by other factors the most obvious of which are sex and grade-level.

The pattern of racial separation is so pervasive that it encompasses all segments of the building and grounds and has led to the emergence of demarcated racial territories. Whites do not linger in the B-wing corridors during any part of the day because the space is identified with blacks. Similarly, blacks do not congregate in front of the school or in the adjacent parking lot since that area is identified with whites. But racial identity of space is far more complex than just black or white. Each category is divided into smaller friendship units and these units are the ones which have established their territorial grounds. For example, just before the beginning of school a group of black female seniors gather in one of the home economics rooms. A group of young black males congregate on the side of the building by the bus loading zone. Groups of ninth grade white males can be found in front of the school. This pattern of clustering extends through hallways, into the mall, and in some of the classrooms.

The lunchtime break provides the best opportunity to observe the racial and small group patterning. A minimum amount of time is spent eating so that students can join their friends in the accustomed locations. There are three lunch shifts with the ninth grade eating first followed by the tenth grade students and finally the juniors and seniors. The racial pattern in the mall varies with successive waves of students. During the ninth grade lunch shift, the mall is occupied by groups with only one group of blacks gathered near the cafeteria (the ninth grade class is 66% white). The proportion of blacks in the mall increases during the second lunch shift and during the junior-senior period the mall is occupied only by blacks (the Junior and Senior classes, when combined, are slightly more than 50% black). During this latter period a group of black female school leaders gather in one spot. Black male students, including athletes and school leaders drift by to chat with them. Later on the athletes gather as a group in the courtyard between the gym and the media center and eventually go into the gym to play basketball.

During the junior-senior lunch shift, the whites who rank high, in academic performance and participate in extracurricular activities, gather in the foreign language teachers classroom.

Another group of black females, who are enrolled in business courses, meet in a room in B-wing. The black teacher in whose room these students gather came to Palmetto from the all-black Booker T. Washington when it was closed. This teacher spends a great amount of time working on special programs presented at the school, and the students who help her with decorating and the like are the ones who meet informally in her room.

Other groups of students meet on the school grounds. Sexually mixed white groups of ninth and tenth graders meet on the front lawn of the school. A group of about fifteen black males gather at the bus loading zone. They spend most of their time pitching pennies and rapping. Other school personnel consider these students troublemakers and they are often in the dean's office for violating one rule or another.

The selection of the meeting areas presented here of a few groups of students during lunch has been chosen to make the following points: (1) Students with high status gather in the central part of the school while lower status individuals are found at increasing intervals from the center. (2) Student leadership at Palmetto, which is black at present, is shifting to white as the percentage of whites increases at the school. When Palmetto was founded, the community considered Palmetto to be replacing the all-black Booker T. Washington. Palmetto initially had a larger proportion of black students and the principal as well as many of the teachers were transferred from Booker T. Washington to Palmetto. (3) Teachers and students form close personal relationships which is an important factor in student prestige.

The student system of black-white separation, of groups identified with specific localities, and of a pattern of group membership based on race, sex, grade-level, and status also obtains at Forrest Park although the details are different.

School leaders regularly spend their free time in the mall. These include members of the student government, athletes, and members of the drama club. All students in the mall are white except for a few black students who occupy a space near the cafeteria. (The percentage of whites at Forrest Park is 81 percent.)

An elite group of seniors in student government meet in a small room at the rear of the administrative wing. This room is called "Student Activities" and has been formally given to student government for "cabinet" meetings.

The majority of blacks at the school meet outside the art wing, or the fringe of Smokey Bear Park, or in the cafeteria which is also the student lounge when lunch is not being served.

The whites who frequent Smokey Bear Park are, for the most part, ninth and tenth graders. They are described by other students as being "hippies". They are not active in extracurricular activities and in general may be described as being marginal to the informal student system.

The pattern of close teacher sponsorship of students found at Palmetto did not appear at Forrest Park. Although high status at both schools required both teacher and student support, high status individuals received different kinds and amounts of support from teachers and peers. Teachers at Forrest Park showed interest in those they considered better students or favorite students but teachers and students did not have the kind of personal relationships evident at Palmetto. In contrast, groups of students did not become attached to a particular teacher but rather the Forrest Park students derived their primary support and direction from peers. This pattern of teacher sponsorship has been described for us as being present in several all black schools prior to desegregation and hence its existence at Palmetto may well reflect the differences in black and white style in association with students.

Enough of the pattern of student use of space at Forrest Park has been presented to establish both the similarities and contrasts with Palmetto. The student system is complex but it has regularized the use of space with the consequence that tensions between students are minimized and wide variation is accomodated.

The School

The ostensible purpose of the school is to educate students. The design of the physical plant, the formal table of organization, and the curriculum are the necessary instruments for this process. But attributes of the personnel in their behavior within the formal system, and in their informal relationships with each other give meaning to the whole.

Each category of individuals within the schools has been described with particular emphasis on spatial distribution and territorial rights. This kind of analysis emphasises the separation of the categories of school personnel when in reality individual interaction creates a total system. Therefore, an understanding of the use of territory within the context of a total functioning school system requires a look at all of the categories together.

An examination of the use of space reveals the internal social divisions and the variety of activities associated with groups. Space has been reserved for administering, for teaching, and for use by students. Some spaces allow different categories of school personnel to come together. For example, administrators and faculty meet in the teachers' lounge and at faculty meetings. All school personnel use corridors, hallways, and parking lots although there are attempts to impose control through allocation and unstated agreements.

Faculty or administrators can invade students' spaces but not vice versa. For example, when students were at "Smoker's Corner", and a teacher or administrator approached, the students quickly put out their cigarettes and dispersed. Although students accept that teachers have the right to such action students nonetheless complain about such action as an unwelcome intrusion.

In sum, the space and territory reveal the two-tier organization of faculty and students and the internal division among both based on functions and personal attributes. The evidence demonstrates that the formal system does not impair the manifestation of basic cultural differences between black and white as students and teachers express their personal preferences in free time and organize free space.

VI

THE ACTIVITY PROGRAMS

The activity programs in both Forrest Park and Palmetto High School were assigned high research priority since we believed that students' participation in school activities not only helped incorporate them into the school but was also an expression of a segment of the students' social system. We posited that the variation among students with respect to grade, sex, social class, and race would also be differentially expressed in their participation behavior. In particular, we needed to understand the nature of the involvement of differing racial and status groupings within the school, and with administrators and teachers. Our definition of activity program includes not only all clubs and organizations external to the formal classroom system,but also the activities with a mixed program of class instruction plus continued cooperative effort of students outside the classroom such as the band, chorus, and student publications.

The research results will be presented in three major sections. These include: 1) the administrative policies affecting the overall program, faculty sponsorship, meeting times, and student membership; 2) a description of the variation of activities available to the students at each school; 3) the students' participation in the activities with regard to grade, race, sex, and social class. Finally, the programs at each school will be compared and some interpretations offered of the conditions which affect the students' involvement in these programs. Emphasis in the conclusion will be placed upon the variation in black and white participation and interaction within these activities. It is necessary, however, for us to set the stage for the development of the programs at each school by turning briefly to the establishment of the schools.

THE SCHOOLS

Both schools were newly constructed and began operation in the school year of 1969-1970. Neither administration nor teachers had worked together previously nor were there school traditions to guide the body of assembled students. Similar to other aspects of school organization activity programs had to be built *de novo* establishing policies, sponsorship roles, and clientele. What happened, of course, was that the new people brought a model of their previous school traditions with them. Teachers with experience in directing activity programs were asked to put it to use in the new situation. Previously successful programs were tried anew. Some of the activities, therefore, resembled those that had existed locally in either the white or the black high school from which many of the teachers were transferred. Students in these newly formed schools also brought with them demands for activities. Some requested activities similar to those they had known in lower level schools. Others wanted those high school activities they had heard about through peer association in their neighborhoods. The point is that the activity programs did not begin totally anew, but were indeed shaped by administrators, teachers and students upon previous experiences in schools.

It should not be surprising that the type and range of activities in both of the schools in our study resemble those found in other high schools throughout the United States. Even a cursory glance at the list of organizations in these two schools immediately leads one to think that the activity programs are quite similar. Comparability built on such external characteristics does not withstand closer scrutiny. Our research established that neither in administrative organization nor operation are they at all alike. Furthermore, there is a remarkable difference in the nature of the students' participation in each school's program.

FORREST PARK

Administrative Policies:

Administrative policy at Forrest Park holds that student activities, with the exception of meetings of the student government and Bi-Racial Committee, should not interrupt regularly scheduled classes and should be conducted after school. Such scheduling offers some advantages. First, students can participate in several activities since meeting times are scheduled to minimize the problem of conflict. Second, the students are allowed to utilize the building not only after school, but also during the evening hours and on weekends when many of the intramural activities are held. Thirdly, this scheduling allows those students who attend the vocational school or the agribusiness center for part of their day the opportunity to participate in activities.

This scheduling of activities would seemingly put greater restrictions upon students whose transportation is limited to the school buses. Younger students who do not drive or have access to cars and the blacks, the majority of whom are bused, would be most affected.

The administration views the activity program as being justified to benefit students, and believes that it should be primarily a function of student effort although accepting the faculty obligation to offer support and assistance. The school principal affirmed the principle of student direction of activities during a "buzz session" held one activity day. A delegation of several members from the Junior National Honor Society asked the principal to intervene into internal difficulties in their club. There was a controversy over the criteria for membership –– these students wanted the criteria to be never having had a grade lower than a B, while the constitution read that maintaining a 3.0 average was sufficient for membership. The principal repeatedly told the students that she was not going to take a position on the question, that it was an issue which should be internally solved. Any changes they wished to make would have to be done through a vote of the membership on a constitutional ammendment. She gave them a brief lecture about the function of the vote and rule by majority. She further stated that even if they disapproved of the majority vote they would have to abide by the wishes of the majority, a fact of life in our democratic society. Hence the students were forced to utilize the principles of democratic rule and to act independently of faculty intervention.

The faculty coordinator of activities at Forrest Park is a young, white female teacher of Latin who was appointed to the job because of interest and because her student load was light enough to afford her the time to devote to the program. Her chief responsibilities include preparing a monthly schedule of activities to avoid conflict in meeting time; to plan and coordinate the thrice-yearly Activities Day, -- a half-day of activities held during school hours for which all classes are cancelled; and to sponsor the Student Government meeting three times a week with the cabinet of that organization. She enjoys a frequent and close working relationship with the president and officers of that organization. She also sponsors the Junior Classical League, the Latin club, not as a function of her position as coordinator, but as a result of her position as Latin teacher. It is important to understand that the activity coordinator and the school principal maintain a close and friendly relationship. Such an association not only fosters communication with the administration but insures that administrative wishes and directives are carried out in the design and management of the activity program of the school.

The school's desire that an activity program should provide a sufficient variety of activities to appeal to the different interests of students was also expressed in the design of the first two activity day programs in the early fall and February. Over 30 different activities were scheduled for each one. Most of them cast the student in the role of spectator. There were speakers from the community and the university, displays of collections by students and others to be viewed, drama skits to be enjoyed, rock music to be listened to, etc. Many activities ran concurrently so that students had several choices. On both occasions some students attended the scheduled activities, some spontaneously initiated their own activities, and some did both. There was card playing in the park, organized baseball games on the athletic field, and impromptu dancing around a student band and some students sat and talked. In both the planned and the unplanned activities students participated in friendship groups. No matter how varied the proffered schedule students still organized their own activities, separate and distinct from the formal program which expressed the variation in student interest as well as school policy to permit such variation.

Sponsorship:

Each activity requires at least one faculty sponsor. In the academically related ones sponsorship falls to a member of the department in which the activity originates. Thus the Home Economics teachers are sponsors of the Future Homemakers of America club; a Spanish teacher is sponsor of the Spanish club; one of the business teachers is sponsor of the Future Business Leaders of America, etc. Through academically related activities the faculty hopes to increase student interest in the subject and thus perhaps claim students for a vocational interest in the area. The pattern seems to work as follows: students attend class, become interested in the teacher or subject area, and gradually get "turned on" to the extracurricular activities involving that teacher or that subject area. It is not by accident that you can see groups of students following a teacher around during the day, in class, and outside of class in activities.

It is accepted policy of the school that any students who wish to organize a club on campus may do so as long as they find a faculty sponsor for that club and as long as the club does not violate school policy. New organizations should not limit membership to racially distinct groups, provide hazing for members, etc. During the fall a new organizations was so formed. A friendship group of black girls wanted to form a drill team to march with the band. The band director was approached by them and he gave his permission for the group to be formed although he stated that he could not actually train them. The girls then searched the school looking for a sponsor and finally gained the support of a black physical education teacher. Word was circulated that a drill team was being organized. Girls interested in participating attended the practices and at the last home game of the football season the uniformed drill team performed a number with the band during half-time festivities.

Sponsorship of activities which are not academically related but are more social-service in nature requires only that students find a teacher who is willing to support their request. Such a sponsor could be from any department as long as he or she were willing to take on the additional responsibility. This commitment is usually a consequence of the teacher's commitment to the school or to the students requesting his or her support.

Thus faculty sponsorship of activities at Forrest Park is viewed as a response to student demand. Teachers may assume this position because of their commitment to the students, to the school and/or to increasing interest in their subject matter.

The Activity Program:

The following categories of activities can be found at Forrest Park: 1) Activities which are also part of the formal curriculum and for which credit is given. These activities would include the band, chorus, newspaper, annual, and student government cabinet. 2) Activities which are academically related, those that are "spin-offs" of the formal curriculum. These activities include the language clubs, science and math clubs, clubs associated with the business curriculum, etc. 3) Honorary associations are open to students who demonstrate achievement in the academic field. 4) The athletic organizations include both male and female competitive teams as well as the Letterman Club because it is tied to the athletic field. 5) The last category of organizations are the interest groupings. These clubs are formed by students who share a common interest and gather for the sociability surrounding that interest. These clubs would include the stamp club, the coin club, the chess club, etc. Forrest Park has no service organizations on campus which are sponsored by community service organizations because of restrictions which might be placed upon membership eligibility.

There are 49 distinctly different organizational groups at Forrest Park. Of these 14 are athletic, or athletically related organizations. One activity, Campus Life, a locally active quasi-religious organization, is not school sponsored but has chapters in two of the three county high schools.

Student government provides the formal channel for communication between the administration and the students. It is composed of a representative and an alternate from each homeroom and a cabinet of school-wide elected officers and appointees. The cabinet is the central planning board of the organization and meets three times a week with the sponsor during a regularly scheduled class period. For attending these meetings and participating on the cabinet, the cabinet members receive one hour of course credit. The vice president of the student government is the chairman of the Inter-Club Council. This council is composed of representatives from each of the student organizations on campus and acts as a communication center for the various organizations permitting them to discuss mutual problems and to seek aid from one another.

Although the activities for which credit is given have regularly scheduled classroom sessions, much of the learning occurs outside of the class period when students work together during the afternoon or evenings. The band practices during football season every afternoon after school. Students on the newspaper and annual staff attend a variety of activities in a reporting capacity in addition to the hours they expend getting copy together, making arrangements with printers, etc. In these situations the students learn how to work together in peer groups toward a common goal.

However, because of the formal educational component to most of these activities, credits are earned, which necessitates faculty leadership and instruction. Those activities, with the exception of the student government cabinet, therefore, lack the formal student direction and organization of the club activities and the cabinets of the larger organizations, which are even more complex.

The student government cabinet is an excellent example of how sophisticated some of the students are about the workings of organizations. During the spring the president of student government received a telephone call from the president of the student government at Central High challanging the Forrest Park student government to a basketball game. The president relayed this challenge to the total membership at the next meeting, at which point moans and groans were voiced from the representatives. It was reported that the star basketball player on the Central team was in student government. The president said he had considered that fact, but he thought Forrest Park could rise to the occasion. If they were to agree to this challenge, he would personally appoint a five man ad hoc committee of varsity basketball players to be the official representative of student government in the game.

Generally, there is great similarity in the patterns of formal organization and conduct of business. A few activities, however, enroll such few members that they might better be viewed as cliques, individuals joined together around some common interest. Characteristic of this type would be the chess and coin clubs. The stamp club although quite small is an active organization that puts out a newsletter on campus and contributes a column to the school newspaper.

Most of the club activities at Forrest Park are student directed with the faculty assisting. It is unusual to see a faculty sponsor directing a meeting in its conduct of business. Rather the faculty sponsor answers questions concerning school policy, parliamentary procedure, etc. There is, however, one interesting exception to this generality which illuminates some of the difficulties in interaction among blacks and whites, a topic to be more fully discussed later.

The Future Homemakers of America is an organization of students interested in homemaking, predominantly family care, cooking, and sewing. The students in this organization are generally in one of the homemaking classes on campus, or have taken homemaking courses before. At the fall meeting to elect officers there were more black girls present than white girls. A black girl was elected to the presidency with some whites to other offices. After the elections most of the black girls left and few ever attended subsequent meetings, although they still claimed membership. The black president was left without the support of her peer group. The faculty sponsor attempted to have the black president conduct the order of business, but this was not successful. The white girls, now in the majority, asked questions which the president could not answer and bombarded her with problems until she relinquished her authority, which she never really held. The sponsor then had to conduct the meetings.

Racial Composition in Activities:

When we come to examine the differential participation of blacks and whites in school activities a number of factors that attract students into activities need to be considered. These include the sponsorship, age-grading, friendship groupings, courting behavior, and social class and cultural traditions of the students. One or more of these factors has a direct consequence upon the nature of the student participation in each organization. The variables of sponsorship, friendship groupings, and cultural traditions, however, give the greatest meaning to and understanding of the racial composition of the various activities at Forrest Park.

Although blacks represent only one-fifth (19%) of the student body they are proportionately over-represented in athletics claiming from a third to two-fifths of the participants in football, basketball and track. The black senior member of the golf team is a rarity for this sport while tennis, swimming, and cross-country are completely white dominated. Such distributions tell us more than a proportional measure of racial skill. The use of talent in football and basketball has been one of the main avenues open to blacks in both amateur and professional sports. The non-contact sports remain the near exclusive preserve of middle-class whites; Arthur Ashe in tennis or Charles Siffert on the golf tour are rarities.

But athletic sponsorship represented by the coaching staff can be another significant variable. The head football coach was transferred from a similar position at Booker T. Washington High when it was closed. He has good relationships with all students but he encourages capable and talented male blacks to develop athletic skills since he believes strongly that success is the "ticket" for a chance at a better life. The charisma he exerts on blacks does not extend to the white students whose background and career plans do not place competitive athletics in such a central position. Of his assistant coaches one is a young black who divides his time between coaching and teaching social studies, and the remainder are white coaches who are employed either full or part time as coaches. The school's athletes, those that participate in football, basketball, track and baseball, do not automatically achieve high status positions. Among the white students at Forrest Park there are those who view football as an archaic, combat sport and have nicknamed the football team the "Buttercups".

Students who participate in the minor sports programs are not thought of as super athletes, but do have some element of prestige, particularly among the white elitest groups. Coaches for the minor sports teach a full academic load and have no formal association with the athletic department. They recruit teams from their regular classes in contrast to the full-time athletic coaches who recruit likely candidates from their gym classes.

Integrated Male Athletics Percent of Black Membership	Integrated Female Athletics Percent of Black Membership	Non-Integrated Athletics 100% White
Letterman Club - 12.3%	Girls' Track Team - 41.7%	Girls' Tennis
Football - 32.7%		Boys' Tennis
J.V. Football - 30%		Swimming Team
Basketball - 33.3%		Cross-Country Track
J.V. Basketball - 45.5%		
Track team - 43.5%		
9th Grade Basketball - 8.3%		
Baseball - 22.7%		
Golf - 11.1%		

Table No. 1

PARTICIPATION IN ATHLETICS BY RACE

100 Percent White	100 Percent Black	Integrated Activities Percent of Blacks Given
Tiger Annual	Female Drill Team	Band - .9%
Astronomical Society		*Bi-Racial Committee - 46.7%
Campus Life		Choir - 55.6%
Chess Club		Future Business Leaders of America - 26.7%
Cooperative Business Education		Future Homemakers of America - 26.7%
Diversified Cooperative Training		Inter-Club Council - 24.3%
Drama Club		Intramurals - 11.6%
Ensemble, Girls'		*Junior Varsity Cheerleaders - 25%
Ensemble, Mixed		Latin Club - 2%
Forensics		Pep Club - New club founded by whites but with some black participation. (Figures not available)
French Club		Science Club - 9.1%
German Club		Student Government Representatives - 14.8%
Majorettes		*Varsity Cheerleaders - 25%
Math Honor Society		
National Honor Society		
Newspaper		
Spanish Club		
Stamp Club		
Student Government Cabinet		
Thespian Club		

* Black membership guaranteed

Black members (4) of the following organizations did not participate:
- Literary Magazine
- Senior Cabinet

Table No. 2

PARTICIPATION IN NON-ATHLETIC ACTIVITIES BY RACE

Black participation in other school activities is relatively restricted and confined largely to females. Blacks are attracted to activities where there is already a sizable number of blacks, and where the activities have black sponsorship. Black membership in Future Homemakers of America and Bi-Racial Committee is greater than the black percentage of the student body. These activities have both black and white sponsors. Blacks are also proportionately over-represented in the choir and the drill team. Both have black sponsors. The cheerleading squads leave spaces for blacks to insure representation. Black as well as white students are members of the Inter-Club Council by virtue of their membership in another organization, hence this activity is not a "new" organization with blacks becoming incorporated. In all other activities outside the formal athletics program there is white sponsorship. Blacks have the following membership in those organizations: Future Business Leaders of America, 16.7 percent; Student Government Representatives, 14.8 percent; Intramurals, 11.6 percent and one black each in the following activities, Latin club, 2.0 percent; Science club, 9.1 percent; and the band, .9 percent. Black students are found in only three activities, outside of athletics, which do not have black sponsors -- the Future Business Leaders of America, Student Government (although not in the key position in the cabinet), and intramurals.

Whites, on the other hand, belong to more organizations with variations in membership dependent upon curriculum and socio-economic level of the students. White students with high academic ranking, those in the college-preparatory courses, are the students who constitue the bulk in honor societies, the senior cabinet, and the student government cabinet. It is also the group from which is drawn the leadership and participation in activities requiring initiative, leadership and autonomy such as -- the newspaper, annual and drama productions. Whites also join clubs freely without regard to race of the sponsor, but membership in clubs with a high percentage of blacks offers little in the way of prestige to the white student. Students taking vocational courses at the Vocational Center, and those enrolled in business courses at the school are for the most part participants in few activities outside those that are academically related to their course of study.

These are some of the factors which explain the unequal participation in activities. Observation established that the greatest amount of involvement is found among the white elitest, college-preparatory students. The generality of the differences between blacks and whites, males and females and between the ninth and twelfth grades is presented in Tables 3 and 4. They present the number of participants in the activity program, and frequency of membership in more than one activity for grade, sex and race.

There we learn that students in the twelfth grade are more heavily engaged in activities than those in the ninth grade. The record shows that almost two-thirds (64.8%) of the seniors are participants in one or more activities while in contrast not quite half (46%) of the ninth graders are so recorded. The figures also show that whites exceed blacks and that females exceed males although in the ninth grade the difference between sexes is negligible.

Table No. 3

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND RACE

Forrest Park - 12th Grade

Participants		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B/F	No.	8	5	5	1				
	%	42.1	26.3	26.3	5.3				
B/M	No.	11	2	6	4	2			
	%	44.0	8.0	24.0	16.0	8.0			
W/F	No.	27	31	19	7	14	5	3	
	%	25.5	29.2	17.9	6.6	13.2	4.7	2.8	
W/M	No.	48	25	16	11	5	5	5	2
	%	41.0	21.4	13.7	9.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	1.7
TOTAL for 267	No.	94	63	46	23	21	10	8	2
	%	35.2	23.6	17.2	8.6	7.9	3.7	3.0	1.5

TOTALS for 12th Grade		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BLACKS	No.	19	7	11	5	2			
	%	43.2	15.9	25.0	11.3	4.5			
WHITES	No.	75	56	35	18	19	10	8	2
	%	33.6	25.1	15.7	8.1	8.5	4.5	3.6	.9
MALES	No.	59	27	22	15	7	5	5	2
	%	41.5	19.0	15.5	10.6	4.9	3.5	3.5	1.4
FEMALE	No.	35	36	24	8	14	5	3	2
	%	28.0	28.8	19.2	6.4	11.2	4.0	2.4	1.6

Table No. 4

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND RACE

Forrest Park - 9th Grade

Participants		0	1	2	3	4	5
B/F	No.	32	15	5	1	0	1
	%	59.3	27.8	9.3	1.9	0	1.9
B/M	No.	37	13	2			
	%	71.2	25.0	3.8			
W/F	No.	64	33	18	8	3	
	%	50.8	26.2	14.3	6.3	2.4	
W/M	No.	63	28	26	10	4	
	%	48.1	21.4	19.8	7.6	3.1	
TOTAL for 362	No.	196	88	51	19	7	1
	%	54.0	24.2	14.0	5.2	1.9	.3

TOTALS for 9th Grade		0	1	2	3	4	5
BLACKS	No.	69	28	7	1	0	1
	%	65.1	26.4	6.6	.9	0	.9
WHITES	No.	127	61	44	18	7	
	%	48.4	23.7	17.1	7.0	2.7	
MALES	No.	100	41	28	10	4	
	%	54.6	22.4	15.3	5.5	2.2	
FEMALES	No.	96	48	23	9	3	1
	%	53.3	26.7	12.8	5.0	1.7	.6

The details of the compilation are described below. In the senior class, three-fourths (74.5%) of the white females are participants in one or more activities making them on the basis of sex and race the best incorporated group into the activity program. They are followed by the white males with 59% in one or more activities, the black females with 57.9% and the black males with 56%. However, the percentage of participation in two or more activities demonstrates some reordering of the sex and race categories. In this situation the black males lead with 48%, 45.1% of the white females, 36.8% of the white males and 31.6% of the black females. However, black males who participate in two or more activities are usually engaged in athletic programs. Although some white males also participate in several athletic activities, others are in six or seven different activities only one of which may be athletics, usually a minor sport such as tennis or swimming.

Overall, however, only 9.6% white seniors exceed black seniors in activities but comparison by sex shows that black males exceed black females, but white females show greater participation than do the white males.

Fewer students in the ninth grade are incorporated in the activity program and they participate in a fewer number of activities than do the seniors. Ninth grade white females are better represented than other groups with half (49.2%) of them in one or more activities. White males are second with two-fifths (41.9%) of their members participating followed closely by black females (40.7%). Ninth grade black males are less involved than any other group with only three in every ten (28.8%) so counted. White males excel with 30.5% followed by the white females with 23%. Black females drop to only 13.1% while black males register 3.8%. Distribution of membership in two or more activities reveals dramatically the variation between blacks and whites in their participation in the activity program. The relative position of the sex and race categories also differ from that seen in the senior class.

Proportionately more seniors are incorporated in the activity program than ninth graders, but the percentage increase in participation is greater for blacks than whites. Only 8.4% of the ninth grade blacks are participants in two or more activities in contrast to the 40.8% of the senior blacks. In contrast, one quarter (26.8%) of ninth grade whites are in two or more activities. Senior class whites exceed blacks only slightly (41.3%).

When we examine students' participation in the activity program in the context of socio-economic or class background we discover further variations. Tables No. 5 and No. 6 report the percentage of participation of blacks and whites when the students are grouped according to their fathers' occupation. The employment categories that are used with these data are adapted from those described by Warner in Yankee City (1963). For the purposes of our research two categories were added to his scheme, that of University Administrator or professor, and Occupation - Student. These categories are pertinent to this study because of the relationship between town and gown in University City. These two tables also demonstrate the contrast between white and black populations in the socio-economic background of the students.

Over two-fifths (43%) of the white students in the senior class come from families where the father is employed either in a managerial, a professional or a university related position. Excluding the categories with two or less individuals, the highest percentage of participation

FORREST PARK - 12th GRADE

			BLACKS		WHITES	
Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	Total No.	Total % in activities	Total No.	Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNKNOWN		6.7% of Grade				
B/F	3	33.3	11	45.6		
B/M	8	62.5				
W/F	5	60.0			8	62.5
W/M	3	33.3				
OCCUPATION - UNEMPLOYED, DISABLED OR DECEASED		3.7% of Grade				
B/F	2	0	2	0		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	3	66.7			8	50.0
W/M	5	40.0				
OCCUPATION - UNSKILLED		6.0% of Grade				
B/F	7	71.4	16	68.8		
B/M	9	66.7				
W/F	0	--			0	--
W/M	0	--				

Table No. 5

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
STUDENTS PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITY PROGRAMS
AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION

FORREST PARK - 12th GRADE

Students Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - SKILLED		13.1% of Grade				
B/F	8	62.5	17	58.8		
B/M	9	55.6				
W/F	10	60.0			18	50.0
W/M	8	37.5				
OCCUPATION - SUPERVISORY		6.0% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	6	50.0			16	68.8
W/M	10	80.0				
OCCUPATION - WHITE COLLAR TECHNICAL		10.8% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	16	81.3			29	55.2
W/M	13	23.1				
OCCUPATION - MANAGERIAL		20.9% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	23	65.2			57	63.2
W/M	34	61.8				

Table No. 5 - Cont'd.

FORREST PARK - 12th GRADE

Students Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - PROFESSIONAL		13.1% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	16	81.3			57	63.2
W/M	19	63.2				
OCCUPATION - UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION OR TEACHING		18.3% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	24	95.8			35	71.4
W/M	25	72.0				
OCCUPATION - STUDENT		0.7% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	0	--			2	100.0
W/M	2	100.0				

Table No. 5 - Cont'd.

FORREST PARK - 9th GRADE

			BLACKS		WHITES	
Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	Total No.	Total % in activities	Total No.	Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNKNOWN		16.5% of Grade				
B/F	17	35.3	34	32.4		
B/M	17	29.4				
W/F	12	50.0			26	38.5
W/M	14	28.6				
OCCUPATION - UNEMPLOYED, DISABLED OR DECEASED		3.3% of Grade				
B/F	3	33.3	6	50.0		
B/M	3	66.7				
W/F	1	0			6	33.3
W/M	5	40.0				
OCCUPATION - UNSKILLED		10.0% of Grade				
B/F	17	29.4	36	25.0		
B/M	19	21.1				
W/F	0	--			0	--
W/M	0	--				
OCCUPATION - SKILLED		12.4% of Grade				
B/F	14	57.1	26	42.3		
B/M	12	25.0				
W/F	12	25.0			19	36.8
W/M	7	57.1				

Table No. 6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
STUDENTS PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITY PROGRAMS
AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION

FORREST PARK - 9th GRADE

Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - SUPERVISORY						
		2.2% of Grade				
B/F	1	100.0	1	100.0		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	3	0			7	28.6
W/M	4	50.0				
OCCUPATION - WHITE COLLAR TECHN[illegible]						
		11.8% of [illegible]rade				
B/F	1	100.0	3	66.7		
B/M	2	50.0				
W/F	20	55.0			40	55.0
W/M	20	55.0				
OCCUPATION - MANAGERIAL						
		13.2% of Grade				
B/F	1	100.0	1	100.0		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	23	52.2			47	51.1
W/M	24	50.0				
OCCUPATION - PROFESSIONAL						
		13.8% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	23	52.2			50	56.0
W/M	27	59.3				

Table No. 6 - Cont'd.

FORREST PARK - 9th GRADE

Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION OR TEACHING		16.0% in Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	30	56.7			58	56.9
W/M	28	59.3				
OCCUPATION - STUDENT		0.8% in Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	2	50.0			3	66.7
W/M	1	100.0				

Table No. 6 - Cont'd.

is found among white students whose fathers are either University administrators or professors, or professionally employed.

Among the black seniors there are no students in which the fathers' occupation is ranked above that of skilled worker. The highest percentage of participation is found among those students whose fathers hold unskilled positions. The occupational range of ninth grade black students parents is greater than the senior black parents. Five students have fathers who are in supervisory, white collar technical or managerial positions. Four of these students are in the activity program.

The white participation in the activity program is greatest for those white students whose fathers are associated with the university in either administrative or professorial position. The second highest percentage of participation is from students whose fathers are employed in a professional position. There is in the ninth grade a sharp decline in the participation of students whose fathers' occupation falls into categories below that of white collar technical. In the senior class this sharp break in the percentage of participation does not occur but there are distinctions in the activities to which senior students belong. Most of the students whose fathers have occupations ranked below that of white collar technical are in organizations associated with athletics, the world or work and intramurals. There are only two senior students in the National Honor Society whose fathers' occupation falls below that of White Collar Technical. As the socio-economic level or social class of the students rises the students participation broadens to include the honorary associations and academically related activities.

The blacks in both the ninth and tweith grade do not show this patterning. The greatest degree of participation is from students whose fathers are classified as either unskilled, or are disabled or unemployed. Interestingly, the five students in the ninth grade whose father's occupation falls in the supervisory, white collar technical or managerial classification follow the white pattern and are participants in several activities including the academically related ones. Hence in both black and white groups students coming from higher status backgrounds are more active than those who do not.

Further differentiation appears when students are grouped on the basis of age levels. There is an acknowledged upper-lower division which is sometimes explicitly expressed in the varsity versus junior varsity dichotomy.

Some organizations attract 9th and 10th graders while other organizations attract the 11th and 12th graders.

The following organizations draw at least 60% or more of their membership from the 9th and 10th grades:

Chess Club
Stamp Club
Future Homemakers of America
Girl's Track Team
Forensics
Female Drill Team
J.V. Football
9th Grade Basketball
Bi-Racial Committee
Spanish Club
French Club
J.V. Basketball
Latin Club
Swimming Club
Campus Life
J.V. Cheerleaders

The following organizations draw 60 percent or more of their membership from the 11th and 12th grades:

Intramurals
Letterman Club
Drama Club
Newspaper
Majorettes
Diversified Cooperative Training
Varsity Basketball
Varsity Football
Track
Baseball
Golf
Senior Cabinet
Student Government Cabinet
Paw Prints
Future Business Leaders of America
National Honor Society
Boys' Tennis
Girls' Ensemble
Mixed Ensemble
Certified Business Education
Inter-Club Council
Varsity Cheerleaders
Science Club
Thespians
Astronomical Society

Those activities which attract the upperclassmen are also the most prestigious. This is to be expected in an age-graded system such as a high school. Those in the upper grades are considered to be more sophisticated, knowledgeable, and wise. Certainly other students look upon the seniors as exemplifying these desirable qualities.

Class Organization:

The senior class utilizes an elaborate organizational structure to plan the graduation ceremonies and associated activities, the farewell gifts to the school, dances, and other affairs during the school year. To ensure a representative planning group the president of the class with sponsor advice established a senior cabinet composed of students selected from the various friendship groups. Through such representation of academic interests and of black and white it was hoped to avoid domination by an elitest white clique. This organizational plan, although democratic in nature, did not work well. It became evident early in the school year that the friends of the president were controlling the cabinet. Those who felt alienated by that small social group soon stopped attending cabinet meetings. Other students, not official members of the cabinet but friends of the ruling clique, then became the committee chairmen who voted on issues and reported progress of various projects.

The senior class met daily, a function of the space allocated for homerooms for all senior homerooms met simultaneously first module every morning. This provided the opportunity to inform seniors daily of upcoming events, to vote on issues, etc. This frequent interaction among all seniors and sponsors greatly facilitated the communication process in this class enabling them, with a minimum of effort, to carry through the elaborate planning necessary for graduation activities.

The ninth grade class, in contrast, had no class organization. Not until these students become sophomores do they elect officers and organize the class into a working unit. The ninth grade class does not contribute to the activities of the school for they have no vehicle by which to plan and execute such activities. They are merely participants within the system, not directors of the system.

Interaction between grade is relatively infrequent but was formally organized for the spring "activity day". It was organized quite differently from the two preceeding ones. A large number of competitive activities were planned ranging from a frisbee contest, horse-shoe pitching, tricycle riding, to volleyball, cage ball, a dancing contest, etc. Faculty were assigned to each activity to act as referee and score keeper. The students participated in these activities by teams or as individuals on the basis of their grade in school. Thus there was a senior volleyball team, a freshman softball team, a junior horse-shoe pitching team, etc. Winning teams acquired points for their respective classes as did individual competitors. Teachers also joined in and points won went to the class of their homeroom; they tied into the system according to their homeroom affiliation for this determines the class they sponsor. Student enthusiasm was greatly increased when compared with the old style activity day. It was the consensus of the school officials and the research team that there were more participants in this last activity day than on any previous one. Toward the end of the afternoon the contest turned into a real battle for first place between the seniors and the freshmen. It was not until the following day when the final results were announced, since some of the scores had to be validated, that the students learned the freshmen had won a close victory by just two points. Their victory was no accident for the freshmen fought hard to prove that the ignored bottom of the school had some skills to contribute. They won recognition in the eyes of other students.

Friendship Groupings in Activities:

Friendship seems to be the key factor which explains student membership in activities, although status, prestige, interest, camaraderie and association with faculty are important aspects. When students were asked why they chose certain activities the most frequent answer was that they liked being with or working with their friends. A close examination of the membership reveals that basically it is groups or clusters of friends, not unconnected individuals, that join activities. Some of the small organizations tend to be dominated by one clique group. An example of the latter is the student government cabinet.

The cabinet of the student government makes the decisions for that organizations. It is composed of elected officers with other representatives of the student body appointed by the president. The students he selected to serve on the cabinet were chosen from his circle of friends. As he put it: "...I selected for the cabinet those people with whom I had previously worked and with whom I knew I could get along." When questioned about the lack of representation of minority students, grade representation, and specifically asked why he had not put any blacks on his cabinet, he replied that a black student had posed to him the same question. He stated he did not have an answer for this question, or a defense of his action, except to say that he selected students that he knew would work together. For him the capability to accomplish specific goals was more important than consideration of representation in the execution of those endeavors. He selected persons he knew could and would work well together -- his friends.

Courtship in Activities:

Socializing within clique groups brings students of the same sex together in activities, but also fosters socialization between sexes through courtship. This phenomenon may be examined in the intramural program, the most popular activity in the school. Some 250 students participated in a variety of activities including touch football, basketball, checkers, ping-pong, bowling, two-on-two basketball and golf scotch doubles. Some of the teams were representative of club organizations such as the French Club team, the band team, etc., but friendship groups most often comprised the teams that participate. On closer examination it was found that although a core of individuals may have been from a particular club, that not infrequently these persons persuaded their friends to also join the team. Hence the French Club's football team had several players that had no association specifically with the French Club, but were friends of members of that club.

The intramural program provided opportunities for the male-female courting pair to participate as a unit. Young black females that participated in the two-on-two basketball contests were paired with black male upperclassmen. But senior black females were seldom participants in the intramural program since they dated older black males outside the school system and hence were not tied to the school by courtship activity. Whites had an even greater number of courting couples incorporated into the intramural program. They entered the basketball contests, the golf scotch doubles, and usually there were females around cheering the males on to victory. A higher percentage of senior and junior males participated in intramurals than did the ninth and tenth grade males. Most of the latter had not begun dating seriously and the intramural program provided a setting for courtship activities. Also girls in the lower division could meet upper division males through the intramural program. This sometimes brought conflict between the white lower division and the upper division females for the attentions of the senior males.

Black-White Interaction:

Although the activity program served a socializing function for both whites and blacks it also provided a setting outside the formal classroom where blacks and whites learned to interact. Certainly this happened when students came together frequently to achieve a common goal. The cheerleaders, a highly visible group on campus, are a good example of this phenomenon.

The all female cheerleading squad was integrated this year by pressure from the head football coach who said the squad must have two black cheerleaders. (Previously it had been all white.) Some white students resented this intervention and thought that election should have been on the basis of talent and not skin color. However, the coach's ruling stood. Interestingly the black and white cheerleaders, who practiced together every afternoon during football and basketball season, were entirely relaxed in their relations with each other. This was particularly evident in the junior varsity squad where black and white girls showed no evidence of strain in their relationship and there was no domination in practices by the whites. Indeed when the Pep Club was formed these black female J.V. cheerleaders were the first to integrate the Pep club meetings as they were in attendance with their friends, the white cheerleaders. The blacks in the school, however, looked upon these black girls as "Oreo's" and criticized them for their frequent and casual association with the whites. No criticism by white students of white cheerleaders for their association with the black cheerleaders was ever recorded.

In other observed situations where students worked together toward a common goal the factor of racial identity that tends to separate the students disappears. When students are working together and interaction is frequent, communication skills which permit interaction across racial lines are developed. These experiences foster integration in the school, and point to the importance of an activities program which encourages the kind of bi-racial cooperation that will be encountered in the adult world.

PALMETTO HIGH

Administrative Policies:

The activity program at Palmetto High has been arranged quite differently from that at Forrest Park. At Palmetto the activities are held during the school day, not after school. This policy was established so that the large number of students, 74 per cent of the student body, who are bused to school may participate in the activity program. Only few students come to school in cars or pick-up trucks. Bicycles are not ridden to school because the access is only by state roads which have no bicycle paths. Furthermore, there is no public transportation to the school so students depend almost entirely on the school bus for transportation, a fact which is substantiated by the observation that five minutes after the close of the school day the building is virtually empty.

The schedule provides that twice a month, on the first and third Wednesdays, one period is given over to activities. The scheduling is rotated so that no one class is always cancelled. However, most activity periods occur during the morning in the first three periods, occasionally fourth and fifth period and never during sixth period when students would be likely to leave campus during the day.

Club meetings are announced on the Wednesday of activity day in homeroom. When activity period comes, the students, instead of going to their regularly scheduled class, go to the club of their choice, the one they joined at the beginning of the school year. Students who do not wish to attend a club meeting may go to study halls provided for them. While clubs are meeting during this period there are other activities going on for the students which the students call "clubs" but which the faculty do not regard as such. These activities, the Girl's Athletic Association and the Game Club, are exclusively teacher directed and do not have any type of internal club organization, i.e., no officers or constitution. The Game Club meets only during the activity period, has no input to the school, it conducts no projects nor participates as a group in any of the school functions. This activity offers the students an opportunity to play table games, card games or group mathematical guessing games. The "club" is well attended, has about 30-40 regulars, both blacks and whites. Most of these students are in the ninth grade. Although there is the usual black-white separation in the seating arrangement, there is movement around the room and verbal interaction between blacks and whites. For in this situation they are just students trying to conquer the common enemy--the puzzles.

The scheduling of activities during the regular school day has obvious advantages to the students who are bused, but it also has some disadvantages. This system limits participation other than athletics, to only one activity, or if students sign up for two activities they are then really non-participants in one. It has a further disadvantage in that students who attend Booker T. Washington vocational center during the morning session are generally excluded from participation in activities. For example, the president of the Future Homemakers of America, who was enrolled in morning courses at Booker T. Washington attended only two club meetings the entire year.

The student government and the National Honor Society meetings are not held during the activity period but at specially announced periods. Both activities hold high status, one reason being that students are excused from classes to attend the meetings.

All class meetings are also held during the school day, and are called as needed. The senior class had the greatest number of class meetings because of the need to plan graduation exercises.

The administration regards activities as a necessary part of the educational process and places the greatest emphasis upon the control of the students during the activity period, and upon an equal distribution of blacks and whites in the activities. The school has established policies governing the proportion of blacks and whites in some activities, and requires 50-50 distribution for the majorettes, cheerleaders, and student government officers. The officers of the student government are appointed in the following fasion. Candidates do not run for a specific office, but rather to be an officer in the student government. The student with the highest number of votes is declared president, the student of the opposite race with the highest number of votes in his racial category will be vice-president and so forth until the six positions are filled. This policy was formed to eliminate a 100 percent monopoly by any one race. The student body acknowledges the 50-50 representation but there has been student sentiment expressed to alter this policy in regard to election of the student government officers.

To illustrate how the administrative policy affects the design and execution of the activity program we shall describe the spring activity day, called "Goof Off Day". It was scheduled in May near the end of the school year, with classes suspended for the entire day. A committee of the faculty planned recreational activities for the students. Attendance that day was much reduced. Some teachers counted less than half their students in homeroom. White attendance seemed even more severely affected than black. By the conclusion of the lunch period the population had further decreased. Those remaining were waiting for buses to transport them home.

Activities available to students were greatly limited. During the morning there were two activities, a movie and a live band performance with spontaneous dancing in the gym. For the first half of the morning the 11th and 12th graders watched the movie in the auditorium while the 9th and 10th graders were in the gym with the band and after an hour and a half the two groups switched. The afternoon was scheduled for field events which were cancelled due to rain, a stage band concert in the mall area, and volleyball games in the gym. The culmination of the day was to be a football game scheduled at a distant municipal field between the "has-beens" (the graduating seniors) and the "will-be's" (the upcoming varsity for the following year). The bus available to transport the students for a 50¢ fee, which included the admission to the game, was scheduled to leave the school shortly before the end of the school day, but students reported that no one rode this bus.

Attendance included a handful of students and a few parents, about 25 spectators in all.

The activities planned by the faculty at the school were held in areas where they could provide close supervision. Teachers monitored the doors of the gym and auditorium, preventing students who were supposed to be elsewhere from entering. Teachers were also stationed at various points around the school to supervise students. With the exception of a handful of students dancing in the gym, playing volleyball or playing in the stage band, the students were entirely in a spectator note.

Coordinator of Activities:

The coordinator of activities is a mature, black woman who held a similar position in the local black high school before it was closed at the time of school desegregation. She and the principal have worked together for many years and have a warm relationship of mutual respect and trust. She is the chairman of the homemaking department.

She believes it is the responsibility of the adults to guide students rather than to allow them to act on their own without teacher supervision. As she says it, "...you just can't turn students loose, some will do anything they want to and you have to guide them. ...you just can't let them run things." She believes that during the activity period those faculty that supervise homerooms should provide things for the students to do. They should show movies, have speakers come in, etc. She views the lack of teacher enthusiasm for and participation in the activity program at Palmetto High as the most serious problem the program faces.

The teachers, however, frequently complain about the amount of time and work they have to put into activities whether they be activities of the classes or of clubs. Many of them feel imposed upon when required to work after school planning activities or making arrangements for forthcoming activities. When festive events are planned at the school the teachers decorate the stage, getting props together with minimal student help. Frequently the students have to be cajoled or instructed directly to assist. Where teachers are concerned that things be "right" they retain direct responsibility for the outcome of the event. One of the reasons that the teachers have so much to do is that the students assume little of the responsibility of planning or organizaing special events. The faculty usually does most of the work and the students become participants in an event over which they have had little control.

Teachers become sponsors of activities in their areas of expertise, homemaking teachers sponsor the Future Homemakers of America, etc. Class sponsorship occurs as a result of a teachers homeroom affiliation. Thus a teacher who has a senior homeroom becomes a sponsor to the senior class. Teachers who have no homeroom may be assigned sponsorship to any grade level.

The Activity Program:

Palmetto High has the same categories of activities as are found at Forrest Park; 1) Those part of the formal curriculum; 2) Academic related; 3) Honorary Associations; 4) Athletic Organizations; and 5) Interest Groups. These are, however, fewer in number and less varied. Of the total of 33 activities 11 are in the athletic category, of which two are female athletic activities -- the Girls' Athletic

Association and the Girls' Track Team. The remaining 22 activities are divided among the other four categories.

The emphasis of the activity program at Palmetto is on athletics. When new students arrive at the school the greeting is "Welcome to Rattler Country". There is a seasonal shift in status for athletes. football players rank high in the fall with homecoming a major festival; basketball players in the winter and to a lesser degree track and baseball in the spring. Connected with the emphasis on football is membership in the band which provides half-time entertainment, and being a majorette or cheerleader. Other than through athletics, status on campus is acquired by membership in either the National Honor Society or the Student Government.

The activities for which credit is given meet during regularly scheduled class periods such as the choir, band, or annual. The cheerleaders, however, because of the need for frequent practice take sixth period gym together. This eliminates the need for these students to stay after school for practice. The males in varsity sports are also scheduled into a sixth period gym class.

Academically related clubs meet during activity period twice a month but students in these clubs see each other regularly in their classes. Many of the students in the Future Business Leaders of America are in the business courses and are together daily. The students in the language clubs see each other daily in their language classes. It is also apparent that some of the students in the Future Homemakers of America take homemaking classes together and the students in the Health Occupations Club are together in those related classes. Those in Drama Club, take Drama, Science and Rocket club members are in science classes together. Thus, although these club meetings occur only twice a month there is by nature of the design of the system frequent interaction among students in a club and the sponsor of that club.

The only clubs that do not have direct ties to an academic area of specialty and to a particular teacher are Les Mademoiselles, the Game Club, the Modern Dance Club and the Chess Club. These students are not grouped together daily in classes, but meet as friendship groups during school at lunch and between classes.

At club meetings it is unusual to see the officers of the clubs presiding, that role being assumed by the sponsor. On one occasion none of the officers of Les Mademoiselles were present and the president of the Future Homemakers of America was almost always absent because of her courses at the Washington Center for Industrial Arts. However, there was no interruption in the conduct of business since the sponsor often assumes such responsibility.

The student government is the representative student voice at Palmetto High. This group is formed of an elected group of officers, and of class representatives. Each two homerooms in a grade level elects a representative to this organization. These together with the six officers make a membership of 26, but attendance averages around 15. The president of the Student Government presides at meetings but she is closely supervised by the sponsor. Usually these two prepare an agenda together -- that is, the president lists the items which the sponsor indicates need to be covered at that meeting. The president notes the disposition of each item on her list and at the close of the meeting she returns the agenda with notations to the faculty sponsor. Student government meetings are run informally with little attention given to Roberts' Rules of Order. The officers frequently make motions, open and close the voting, or else they simply vote by a show of hands. There is frequent intervention into the conduct of the meeting by the sponsor who makes suggestions, and discourages or encourages courses of action. All decisions are immediately referred to the sponsor for approval before continuing on to another topic. The dependence upon the sponsor in the conduct of the business at these meetings is indeed obvious.

Class Organizations:

The different grades at Palmetto High have formal class organization with the exception of the ninth grade. Although the seniors have duly elected officers and frequently called class meetings, particularly during the second semester, the officers rarely presided at the meetings. Usually the faculty sponsors directed the order of business. These sponsors divided the responsibility for planning the senior graduation festivities among themselves and then during the meetings they would relay the plans in progress, getting the students to vote on such things as the class colors, the class motto, etc. The president of the class, a black female, usually stood near the sponsors ready to run errands or pass out papers but seldom did she address the class -- if she did it was only to make announcements. Students respond to the initiative of the sponsor not to the other students.

Racial and Trade Distribution:

Most of the organizations at Palmetto High are integrated although the racial proportions vary. Of the 33 activities, two language clubs and the golf club are wholly white and two clubs have a stated all black membership, the Modern Dance Club and Les Mademoiselles. The latter club does have participating white membership even though these girls do not appear on the club membership list. Therefore, functionally the school has three segregated clubs, two 100 per cent white and one 100 per cent black.

The following table shows the relative proportions of blacks and whites in organized activities at Palmetto High.

60+% Black	60+% White	50-50% Black/White
Band	Chess Club	*Bi-Racial Committee
Baseball	Drama	Health Occupations
Chorus	French/Spanish	*J.V. Cheerleaders
Future Homemakers of America	Future Business Leaders of America	J.V. Football
Girls' Athletic Association	Future Teachers of America	*Majorettes
Girls' Track	Jr. National Honor Society	Newspaper
J.V. Basketball	National Honor Society	9th Grade Basketball
Les Mademoiselles	Science/Rocket	Student Government
Super Rattlers	Yearbook	*Varsity Cheerleaders
Track		
Varsity Basketball		
Varsity Football		

100% White	100% Black
German/Latin Clubs	Modern Dance Club
Golf	

* - Controlled membership to insure 50-50 ratio.

Table No. 7

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY RACE

When we examine the relative proportion of blacks and whites in organized activities by grade level we discover that blacks dominate athletics (with minor exceptions) but that there is a noticable difference in other clubs. There is a tendency for clubs which are heavily populated by ninth and tenth grade students to be predominantly white, while clubs with a majority of 11th and 12th graders are predominantly black. This is in part a reflection of the composition of the student body for the senior class is 64 percent black, 36 percent white and the ninth grade shows a reverse of this ratio, 66 percent whites and 34 percent blacks. But it also reflects the divergent interest of black and white students comparable to that reported for Forrest Park.

Organized activities which carry the greatest prestige are also the ones which include a majority of membership from the upper division. Student Government with its relatively equal distribution of lower-division and upper-division members is so constituted because of the representative nature of its membership. Older and more physically mature males dominate varsity sports hence the preponderance of upper-division students. Track is not so dominated but there is no junior varsity track. The German and Latin Club is the one academic related club that has 60 percent plus upper-division membership. The teacher of those two languages is popular with the academically achieving white students in the school, who fill this organization. These students are also members of National Honor Society, which is sponsored by the same teacher.

Activities dominated by ninth and tenth graders include Junior Varsity organizations and clubs with lower prestige with the exception of the band. The band has high prestige on campus and is a good way to get to take trips, perform in concert, etc. The most important activities for lower-division girls are the Modern Dance group and Girls' Athletic Association. Students in the Junior National Honor Society are destined to achieve greater status as they move into the National Honor Society, a prestigious activity.

Membership in organizations by race and class ranking show the following patterns. The clubs and athletic organizations which have 60+percent membership from the upper division, juniors and seniors, have a majority, 60+ percent, of black students with the exception of the following clubs: Future Business Leaders of America, the yearbook, German and Latin Club, and National Honor Society which all have 60+ percent whites. The Future Business Leaders of America has a black sponsor and gets its membership from students who are enrolled in business courses, particularly the secretarial courses. A majority of whites are enrolled in this course of study. The yearbook has a white sponsor and whites are in the majority, with only three black females working on this publication. The German and Latin Club has been previously discussed. These organizations with a white upper-division majority are all linked with formal academics. They are either extensions of coursework, or membership is because of excellence in coursework, as the National Honor Society.

Activities dominated by the ninth and tenth grade students, with over 60 percent of black membership include the Girls' Track team and Girls' Athletic Association (white sponsor), the band (black sponsor), the Future Homemakers of America (white sponsor), and J.V. basketball (white coach). Music, athletics, and homemaking are organizations with higher black participation. The organizations which show a

Activities 60+% 11th & 12th Grade Membership	Activities 60+% 9th & 10th Grade Membership
Baseball	Future Homemakers of America
Varsity Basketball	J.V. Basketball
Les Mademoiselles	Future Teachers of America
Super Rattlers	Girls' Track
Varsity Football	Modern Dance
Yearbook	Girls' Athletic Association
National Honor Society	Science and Rocket Club
German and Latin	Chess Club
Future Business Leaders of America	Jr. National Honor Society
Varsity Cheerleaders	Drama
Majorettes	French and Spanish Club
Bi-Racial Committee	9th Grade Basketball
	J.V. Cheerleaders
	Band
	J.V. Football

The following clubs have a fairly equal distribution of students from the upper and lower divisions within the school:

Track
Chorus
Golf
Newspaper
Health Occupations
Student Government

Table No. 8

DISTRIBUTION OF CLUB MEMBERSHIP BY GRADE LEVEL

50-50 membership from students in both upper and lower division are track and chorus which are both heavily black, and golf, a totally white group. The race of the sponsor at this school does not seem to have much affect upon black membership. Blacks join activities with white sponsorship as readily as with black sponsorship. The whites, in contrast, tend to concentrate in activities which are sponsored by white teachers.

Students at Palmetto High follow teachers into activities in much the same way that was evident at Forrest Park. Students who become attached to a teacher or his academic specialty are likely to follow that teacher into the activities he directs. This double claiming may have important career implications in later years.

Student Membership in Activities:

Although the administrative design of the activity program at Palmetto High would appear to limit students' participation to one organization this does not happen for several reasons. One is that some organizations such as the Student Government and the National Honor Society are called into session during the school day at times other than activity period. Another reason is that some students are also members of the activities which are part of the formal curriculum. Finally, the seasonal nature of the athletic program permits a student to participate in more than one competitive sport. Thus some students are members of several activities, one student belongs to seven, while other students do not participate at all in the activity program. Tables No. 9 and No. 10 illustrate the differential participation of the ninth and twelfth graders in the activity program.

Three-fourths (75.5%) of the black female seniors have membership in one or more activities. They are followed by white females (63.6%), black males (50.8%), and lastly the white males with 40% participation. The same ordering appears in senior students with two or more activities. Black females rank highest (41.5%) followed by white females (39.4%), black males (35.6%), and white males dropping to only a quarter of their members in activities (25.7%).

Participation in the activity program by the ninth graders is less than the seniors but the order of ranking remains identical. In one or more activities percentage of participation is as follows: black females, 66 percent, white females, 47.5 percent, black males, 47 percent, and lastly white males with 33.6 percent. Ninth graders also engage in fewer activities. In two or more activities the black females rank highest with 19.1 percent followed by the white females with 17.2 percent, white males with 11.5 percent and lastly black males with 9.1 percent. Although black and white males reverse their relative positions the difference seems unimportant. The few seniors who belong to four or more activities are students who occupy high status positions in the school. The ninth grade students who are in multiple activities are already prominent in their class and will probably continue to claim positions of prestige in the school's social system.

Differential participation in the activity program is found for grade level, race, and sex. The 12th graders exceed 9th graders in the proportion of students participating. Moreover there are proportionately more females than males and more blacks than whites who participate.

Table No. 9

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND RACE

Palmetto High - 12th Grade

Participants		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B/F	No.	13	18	12	3	5	1	0	1
	%	24.5	34.0	22.6	5.7	9.4	1.9	0	1.9
B/M	No.	29	9	13	6	1	1	0	0
	%	49.2	15.3	22.0	10.2	1.7	1.7	0	0
W/F	No.	12	8	10	2	1	0	0	0
	%	36.4	24.2	30.3	6.1	3.0	0	0	0
W/M	No.	21	5	7	0	2	0	0	0
	%	60.0	14.3	20.0	0	5.7	0	0	0
TOTAL for 180	No.	75	41	44	11	9	2	0	1
	%	41.7	22.8	24.4	6.1	5.0	1.1	0	.6

TOTALS for 12th Grade		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BLACKS	No.	42	27	25	9	6	2	0	1
	%	41.7	22.8	24.4	6.1	5.0	1.1		.6
WHITES	No.	33	13	17	2	3	0	0	0
	%	48.5	19.1	25.0	2.9	4.4	0	0	0
MALE	No.	50	14	20	6	3	5	0	0
	%	53.2	14.9	21.3	6.4	3.2	1.1	0	0
FEMALE	No.	25	26	22	5	6	1	0	1
	%	29.1	30.2	25.6	5.8	7.0	1.2	0	1.2

Table No. 10

PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND RACE

Palmetto High - 9th Grade

Participants		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B/F	No.	16	22	8	1	0	0	0	0
	%	34.0	46.8	17.0	2.1	0	0	0	0
B/M	No.	35	25	6	0	0	0	0	0
	%	53.0	37.9	9.1	0	0	0	0	0
W/F	No.	52	30	10	5	1	0	1	0
	%	52.5	30.3	10.1	5.1	1.0	0	1.0	0
W/M	No.	81	27	9	5	0	0	0	0
	%	66.4	22.1	7.4	4.1	0	0	0	0
TOTAL for 334	No.	184	104	33	11	1	0	1	0
	%	55.1	31.1	9.9	3.3	.3	0	.3	0

TOTALS for 9th Grade		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BLACKS	No.	51	47	14	1	0	0	0	0
	%	45.1	41.5	12.4	.9	0	0	0	0
WHITES	No.	133	57	19	10	1	0	1	0
	%	60.2	25.8	8.6	4.5	.5	0	.5	0
MALES	No.	116	52	15	5	0	0	0	0
	%	61.7	27.7	8.0	2.7	0	0	0	0
FEMALE	No.	68	52	18	6	1	0	1	0
	%	46.6	35.6	12.3	4.1	.7	0	.7	0

Membership in Activities and Father's Occupation:

In order to determine if there was any correlation between the socio-economic level of a student's family and his participation in the activity program information on father's occupation by race, and student participation was tabulated for the ninth and twelfth grades. The results are presented in Table No. 11 and Table No. 12.

These tables show that the socio-economic backgrounds of both black and the white seniors at Palmetto High are relatively similar. The majority of their fathers are either employed in skilled or unskilled positions, they are unemployed, or the school records provide no information. There are no seniors whose fathers are university administrators or professors. The two students in the Occupation - Student category arrived during the school year from South America.

Participation expressed as a percentage among black seniors is greatest for those students whose fathers are either White Collar Technical employees or professionals. The second highest category of participation is from families where the father is a skilled worker.

White seniors also have the highest percentage or participation from students whose fathers are in managerial positions followed by those whose fathers are ranked as professionals.

In the ninth grade, however, there are some striking differences in the socio-economic background of the black and the white students. There are 32 white students and only one black student whose father is in a managerial or higher position. There are three whites whose fathers are in teaching or administrative positions at the university.

In the ninth grade black students with the highest percentage of participation have fathers who are in White Collar Technical positions. With whites the greatest percentage of participation comes from those students whose fathers are professionals.

At Palmetto High the white students of families in which the father is either in a managerial position or is a professional are proportionately the best incorporated into the activity program. The black student whose father is a White Collar Technical employee or a professional has the highest percentage of participation. For both white and black students, those students with the highest social class ranking as expressed in fathers' occupation are the ones who are most involved.

Friendship Groupings in Activities:

The friendship group is an important element in the choice of and participation in activities. Several instances will illustrate the pattern. Early in the school year when the ninth graders were deciding which activity to attend, a group of white females was discussing their options. It was during this discussion following a physical education class, that the entire group decided to attend the game club. The membership in Les Mademoiselles unites several different black friendship groups. The one white who is active in this organization is friendly with some of the blacks for they interact frequently as cheerleaders. White seniors in the National Honor Society also form one large friendship group which is together most of the day as they follow each other through classes.

Half of the 14 different activities that meet during activity period are integrated by sex, although two are minimally so. Opportunity to meet the opposite sex, however, does not seem to be a major factor in attracting students. Many of the girls both black and white, from the tenth grade up date outside the school, and those that date in school have other opportunities during the school day to see their courting mate. Most

PALMETTO HIGH - 12th GRADE

			BLACKS		WHITES	
Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	Total No.	Total % in activities	Total No.	Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNKNOWN		22.2% of Grade				
B/F	14	78.6	34	58.8		
B/M	20	45.0				
W/F	4	25.0			6	33.3
W/M	2	50.0				
OCCUPATION - UNEMPLOYED, DISABLED, OR DECEASED		6.1%				
B/F	5	40.0	7	42.9		
B/M	2	50.0				
W/F	1	100.0			4	50.0
W/M	3	33.3				
OCCUPATION - UNSKILLED		19.4% of Grade				
B/F	11	81.8	33	69.7		
B/M	21	61.9				
W/F	1	100.0			3	66.7
W/M	2	50.0				

Table No. 11

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
STUDENTS PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITY PROGRAMS
AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION

PALMETTO HIGH - 12th GRADE

Students Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - SKILLED						
B/F	20	75.0	33	66.7		
B/M	11	45.6				
W/F	10	60.0			25	40.0
W/M	15	26.7				
OCCUPATION - SUPERVISORY						
		5.0% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	1	0		
B/M	1	0				
W/F	5	60.0			8	62.5
W/M	3	66.7				
OCCUPATION - WHITE COLLAR TECHNICAL						
		5.6% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	4	100.0		
B/M	4	100.0				
W/F	0	--			6	33.3
W/M	6	33.3				
OCCUPATION - MANAGERIAL						
		2.8% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	2	100.0			5	100.0
W/M	3	100.0				

Table No. 11 Cont'd.

PALMETTO HIGH - 12th GRADE

			BLACKS		WHITES	
Students Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	Total No.	Total % in activities	Total No.	Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - PROFESSIONAL		6.7% of Grade				
B/F	2	100.0	2	100.0		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	8	87.5			9	77.8
W/M	1	0				
OCCUPATION - UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION OR TEACHING		0% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	0	--			0	--
W/M	0	--				
OCCUPATION - STUDENT		1.1% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	2	0			2	0
W/M	0	--				

Table No. 11 - Cont'd.

PALMETTO HIGH - 9th GRADE

			BLACKS		WHITES	
Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	Total No.	Total % in activities	Total No.	Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNKNOWN		16.8% of Grade				
B/F	7	14.3				
B/M	17	29.4	24	25.0		
W/F	16	31.2				
W/M	16	6.3			32	18.8
OCCUPATION - UNEMPLOYED, DISABLED OR DECEASED		4.2% of Grade				
B/F	1	0				
B/M	2	100.0	3	66.7		
W/F	5	20.0				
W/M	6	16.7			11	18.2
OCCUPATION -UNSKILLED		13.5% of Grade				
B/F	17	88.2				
B/M	19	52.6	36	69.4		
W/F	4	25.0				
W/M	4	25.0			8	25.0
OCCUPATION - SKILLED		31.4% of Grade				
B/F	16	68.8				
B/M	19	36.8	35	51.4		
W/F	29	51.7				
W/M	14	31.7			43	44.2

Table No. 12

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
STUDENTS PARTICIPATION IN ACTIVITY PROGRAMS
AND PARENTAL OCCUPATION

PALMETTO HIGH - 9th GRADE

Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - SUPERVISORY						
		6.3% of Grade				
B/F	2	50.0	4	50.0		
B/M	2	50.0				
W/F	7	71.4			17	47.1
W/M	10	30.0				
OCCUPATION - WHITE COLLAR TECHNICAL						
		18.1% of Grade				
B/F	4	75.0	10	90.0		
B/M	6	100.0				
W/F	22	68.2			50	52.0
W/M	28	39.3				
OCCUPATION - MANAGERIAL						
		5.1% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	1	0		
B/M	1	0				
W/F	9	33.3			16	43.8
W/M	7	57.1				
OCCUPATION - PROFESSIONAL						
		3.3% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	6	50.0			11	54.5
W/M	5	60.0				

Table No. 12 - Cont'd.

PALMETTO HIGH - 9th GRADE

Students by Sex & Race	No.	Percent in one or more activities	BLACKS Total No.	BLACKS Total % in activities	WHITES Total No.	WHITES Total % in activities
OCCUPATION - UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION OR TEACHING		0.9% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	1	0			3	33.3
W/M	2	50.0				
OCCUPATION - STUDENT		.6% of Grade				
B/F	0	--	0	--		
B/M	0	--				
W/F	0	--			2	50.0
W/M	2	50.0				

Table No. 12 - Cont'd.

of the participation during activity period is in terms of interest and camaraderie with unisexual friendship groups.

Black-White Interaction:

Interracial interaction within the club activities varies according to the situation. Where teachers direct the activity blacks and whites cluster and interact separately. When students work together on a particular task interaction across racial lines occurs more frequently. On the football team the common objective is to win. The race of the player does not matter. Football players talk with one another on the field during practice and the course of a game. In track, however, a different pattern emerges. Track requires a minimum of cooperative effort. Each individual performs in his own right. At track meets the whites and the blacks usually separate themselves.

Friendship group and peer support is another pattern evident during elections. In organizations when voting is by a show of hands both blacks and whites block vote for candidates of their race. One teacher claims that secret balloting permits choice of the most qualified candidate. We have no evidence of the effect of this procedure on the outcome but must assume that identity with group and race remains a strong factor.

We did observe, however, that some of the blacks and whites enjoy a casual and friendly relationship. These students have learned to work together in task oriented activities.

Summary:

The difference in the philosophy behind the design of the activity program at the two schools affects the nature of the relationships between students and faculty. At Forrest Park this program is seen as an outgrowth of student demand, and is designed to fulfill the individual needs of the students. Hence personnel and space are scheduled after school, evenings, and on weekends. Although this policy is advantageous for most of the student body, it penalizes those students who depend on the school bus for transportation, particularly black students. The faculty feels that they should assist students in the planning of special events and programs. They offer the students advice and the benefit of their experience. Students, however, are expected to take the initiative in planning, organizing and carrying through the projects.

At Palmetto High, on the other hand, the activity program is scheduled for the school day to accommodate the large numbers of students who are bused. This school offers little for the students in the way of activities after school and on weekends except for formally scheduled school functions. The administration is concerned with supervising the students and with maintaining an appropriate ratio of blacks and whites in activities. They assume the major role in planning, organizing, and guiding the students. The students actually act as assistants to faculty designed programs.

Many of the activities are age-graded. The athletic department sets the pattern for the upper-lower division in the distinction of junior and senior varsity. Cheerleaders, honor societies and other organizations follow suit. The arrangement reduces competition between ninth graders and seniors since they are not viewed as equal, but it also assists in development of skills in younger students who later become varsity. Most of the organizations are divided along lines of either ninth and tenth grade students or of juniors and seniors. The tendency is for the academically related activities, other than those of the adult world of work, to be popular with the lower classmen. The activities associated with upperclassmen are those with political power, such as student government and National Honor Society at Palmetto High, and the student government, inter-club council, and cabinet organizations at Forrest Park.

The two schools show interesting differences and similarities in the activity program participation. At Forrest Park the blacks flock to activities which have black sponsorship in contrast to Palmetto where race does not seem a factor. In both schools the blacks are over-represented in athletics and homemaking. Whites are found in academically related activities and the honor societies. This would seem to indicate that whites are better incorporated in the formal educational curriculum.

At Palmetto High, on the other hand, the school is claimed by the black students. Here blacks join activities without regard to the race of the sponsor, but activities which blacks sponsor tend to have black students in the majority. The whites migrate toward activities with white sponsorship and claim the majority of students in these organizations. This situation poses an interesting question. Do white and black faculty tend to sponsor activities that are popular with their own racial group? It would appear so.

A comparison of student participation in activities in the two schools by grade, sex and race shows the following:

FORREST PARK HIGH		PALMETTO HIGH	
Percentage in one or more activities		Percentage in one or more activities	
12th Grade	9th Grade	12th Grade	9th Grade
W/F - 74.5	W/M - 51.9	B/F - 75.5	B/F - 66.0
W/M - 59.0	W/F - 49.2	W/F - 63.6	W/F - 47.5
B/F - 57.9	B/F - 40.8	B/M - 50.8	B/M - 47.0
B/M - 56.0	B/M - 28.9	W/M - 40.0	W/M - 33.6

Participation by both male and female white students exceeds that of blacks at Forrest Park. Whites are members of a greater number and variety of activities and are also in the power positions. Blacks are participants in only a few of the activities, particularly athletics, chorus, and Future Homemakers of America. The ninth grade black males at this school show the least participation of any category at either school.

At Palmetto High the black females rank first in participation and blacks hold the power positions within the activity program. Female participation is greater than male participation in both racial categories. The white males in both the ninth and twelfth grades are the least represented. There is a tendency at Forrest Park for students to belong to a greater number of organizations than do students at Palmetto High. In both schools students in high status positions are those who are members of several organizations.

Participation in activities according to students' families socio-economic level, or social-class membership, indicates that those students who are at the top of the social-class hierarchy in their particular grade are the ones who have proportionately the highest participation rate. The one exception to this is the senior blacks at Forrest Park, a group that is small in number and that has little internal class stratification.

The interaction within organizations between students and between students and sponsor differs in each school. At Forrest Park the students learn to respond to the initiation of other students. They learn to follow their peers when their peers assume an authoritative, leadership position. These are the skills that are associated with work in a highly structured society. At Palmetto High the students do not learn to follow their peers in activities. They learn only to follow the directions of adults who occupy high status positions. They seldom take the initiative to organize themselves to achieve a project. Rather they are constantly concerned with what the teacher wants them to do, not what they want to do, and see themselves as trying to fulfill the wishes of the teachers. They do not view themselves as initiators, but as individuals directed by those in authority. They have not learned the interactional skills necessary to organize themselves. They have not developed those skills which permit them to assume positions of leadership in a structured society. Instead, they are taught to be recipients of directives issued by others.

Students in both schools join extra-curricular activities because of the opportunity to socialize. Oftentimes, activities include entire friendship groups, and in many cases these groups move from the classroom into the activity.

The consequence of interaction in bi-racial groups demonstrates the value of activity programs for encouraging inter-racial understanding and cooperation. Activities which require students to plan or work toward some goal reduces the racial identity to a minimum. The patterns of interaction they learn appear again in casual interaction in other situations. The carry-over is important for reducing racial barriers in the school setting but should also be valuable in the adult world.

VII

FRIENDSHIP GROUPS - THE BLACK PATTERN

Black and white students at Forrest Park High are organized in separate systems of informal social interaction. When interaction does occur between black and white students it is usually formal. These informal activities are regularized in stable friendship groups which can be identified by other students at the school. Not only is there no interracial mixing in these groups but differences in structure and behavior between black and white groups is marked. The focus here will be on the black informal system.

The black informal system not only excludes white students but its cohesion arises in part because of opposition to both the white informal and formal student system. Any black student who chooses to participate informally with whites will, in most instances, be forced out of the black informal system. There are, however, a few individuals who can maintain friendly relationships with white students but not jeopardize their position in the black informal system. But as pointed out later, these individuals have special attributes which place them in a unique position in the black informal system.

The term friendship group as used here refers to sets of individuals having a high frequency of interaction. Our use of the term is operationally stated by Chapple (1970:182) as follows:

> "...interaction between the members of the group takes
> place with a high and relatively constant frequency.
> Interaction with those not belonging to the group is
> erratic or takes place only at occasional periods during
> the annual cycle and is usually low in frequency."

From observed interaction frequency emerges the number and structure of friendship groups and together with the flow of action within and between friendship groups is found the black informal system.

The population studied included all black members of the senior class. Five male groups and six female groups were identified. The total number of blacks seniors was 25 males and 19 females. Only one of the 25 males and two of the 19 females were considered to be loners. In addition, the pattern of association was confirmed by asking students to place the names of individuals into groups of friends. They also used community or neighborhood as a criteria for separation of individuals into groups. The task turned out to be relatively easy since the black students knew everyone. The groupings not only confirmed those derived from observations but it is also significant that community of residence emerged as a factor underlying friendship groups formation.

Observation also established that none of these groups is fully autonomous. Instead, there is a rather constant flow of action between members of different groups. Only through deep familiarity with each of the students, was the initial difficulty of identifying friendship groups among blacks overcome. The interaction within and between groups constituted the inclusive network that we have defined as the black informal system.

During a normal school day a number of non-scheduled activities may be occuring at the same time in which black students are involved.

A student may arrive and depart from the school together with his "tights", or close friends, but during the course of a day he may, for various reasons, spend a great deal of time moving from one activity to another. For example, some are playing cards, others smoking in the park or in parked automobiles, still others playing basketball in the gym or "rapping" in the bleachers while looking at girls, and a "crap" game may be going on in the woods. The individuals thus engaged may be drawn from different groups. These activities are not restricted to seniors. Lower classmen may participate but in a somewhat marginal position to the seniors.

Outside the black informal system are the three students who are loners or interact more with whites. They are viewed as being opposed to the black informal system by those who are a part of it. Those who interact frequently with whites are the subject of comment in rap sessions. Examples recorded include, "She think she's white, man." "He ain't too cool man, he hang around with white dudes too much." "Don't say nothing to her man, she don't like us black people." Statements like these are commonly made by black students, and reaffirm the inclusiveness of the black informal system.

Female Friendship Groups:

The grouping pattern that emerges from this overview provides a framework within which the detail of the informal system among black seniors may be examined. Some significant points have already emerged and should be kept in mind. The black informal system is organized at two levels, that of a small, tightly knit friendship unit, or "tight", and a flexible, cross-group pattern of intermingling based on activities and encompassing larger numbers. Both groupings exclude whites as well as blacks that interact with whites frequently. The next step in the analysis will examine the groupings in more detail and six female groups will be presented first. For identification each group is given an Arabic numeral and each individual lettered.

The three members of group 1 (1A, 1B, 1C) spend a great deal of time standing around the bus stop entrance "rapping". They have most of their classes together and all three ride together to Booker T. Washington for vocational classes. 1B and 1C are from a rural area southwest of the University City, called Seminole, and 1A lives only a few miles away and they all ride the same bus to school. These students visit each other after school and often go out together. 1A and 4A grew up together and visit together at least once daily.

Group 2 is a pair group (2A, 2B) who reside in the same community. Their parents attend the same church and are friends. They also visit each other after school. Since 2B is a vocational student she is off campus for a portion of each day. Her companion (2A) chooses to associate more with 11th grade females when 2B is away but also spends time studying in the media center.

There are five members, 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D, and 3E, of group 3. They ride the same bus although they reside in two different rural communities, Spar and Folksville. Prior to desegregation, they attended the same school. This group of students are very tight and spend most of their free time sitting on the north-west side of the mall or walking around on the north-east side of the building. Their academic schedules separate them during a large portion of the day. Three of them attend classes at the Booker T. Washington vocational center each day. Other students think of this group as being "country". Comments about the way they act and dress have been made by other blacks and for a brief period of time there was some hostility between this group and members of group 4. This has since been resolved.

Two girls constitute group 4. The dominant member of this (4A) is from University City and thinks of herself, and is accepted by others, as a student leader. One male informant stated that, "4A has style and got her head together." (Not in reference to academic performance but values). He added that when school first opened, she tried to rap to the Spar and Folksville girls but couldn't get through to them but now they get along okay. 4A has established rapport with almost all other senior blacks, both male and female. Both girls have the same class schedule and most of their free time is spent walking around engaging in conversations with various students, even occasionally with whites.

Group 5 is another pair group. These two live in Brownsville, a rural community north-west of Forrest Park. Their parents are friends and attend the same church, in fact most of the black females at Forrest Park are regular church goers. These individuals get along well with other groups. They are bused to school, and to the vocational center together.

Group 6 is also a pair group. They attend classes together and in their free time sit on the south side of the building near the bus loading zone. They are from the same community, attend the same church, and ride the same bus. These girls more or less isolate themselves from other black females with the exception of 4A. They are flamboyant in the choice of costume and feel that they are more mature than the others. One of them has had a child. They are hostile toward white students and avoid interacting with them except on occasions when it is absolutely necessary. 4A spends a considerable amount of time rapping with this group and seems to help keep them in line and out of trouble.

As mentioned earlier, there were two black females who could not be counted as part of the black informal system. They were members of no group and kept themselves generally apart from other blacks. They spent most of their free time studying in the media center and accept the value of academic performance. Interaction between them is less frequent than it is between each of them and whites, in fact more of their time is spent with whites than blacks. One pairs with her 11th grade sister who also prefers association with whites. One girl dates only white males at Forrest Park. On one occasion she was heckeled by a group of black males because she chose to date white males, and associated primarily with whites. The other one dates a black male who hangs around with white males, although he is not a student at Forrest Park, but attends a nearby Junior College. In spite of occasionally being harassed by other black students, they continue to maintain their separateness.

Male Friendship Groups:

The informal system among black males differs from that found among females in several respects, but the similarities are more evident. Differences seem more sex-associated such as type of activity. It should also be recognized that the researcher being male was able to participate more fully with males than was possible with females. The description will also include interconnections between males and females, such as courtship and other reciprocal relationships.

The four males (1A, 1B, 1C, and 1D) of Group 1 reside in a rural community, called Seminole, which is about six miles distant from University City. This settlement contains approximately 50 households scattered in a one square mile area. Public facilities include four churches, two Baptist, one Methodist and one A.M.E., and a juke (country bar) adjacent to a sandlot baseball park. Baseball games are scheduled on Saturdays or Sundays against teams of other rural communities during the summer. Female Group 1 also comes from Seminole. When 1C, who owns an automobile, drives to school the other males usually ride with him.

When not in class these individuals will gather on the southeast end of the mall to rap. But often only two of them can be found in this area. But any two of them will also be engaged in any one of the mumerous activities that occur at any one time. 1A, 1B, and 1D are all members of the varsity football team and 1C plays baseball. Interaction for the most part takes place between pairs of any of the four. Only while in the mall or during other rap sessions are all four seen regularly together.

Eight males from three rural localities join to form Group 2. This group of males consists of 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 2E, 2F, 2G, and 2H. Three (2A, 2B, and 2C) are residents of Folksville which is a small rural community north of University City. Spar resembles Seminole with two churches, a juke and baseball park. 2D, 2E, 2F, and 2G are from Spar. It is only a few miles away from Folksville whose residents know each other since they work together in tobacco farming or attend the same school or church. Forty or 50 households are found in each. 2H is from Osceola which is also a rural community located near Spar and Folksville. All of these students attended the same school prior to desegregation and have remained friends over the years.

Members of Group 2 are friends at Forrest Park. These individuals are usually seen as pairs, and spend most of their time, when not in class, walking around campus checking out the happenings. They may stop to engage in a tonk game or go out to the park for a smoke, or they may also catch a ride to University City and spend the day loafing. A key individual in the group is 2A. This student is popular with females, is an athlete, has a good rap, dresses with style and may be seem walking with any of the individuals in the group. But most of his time is spent with 2E. 2A and 2E both play football, run track and are second cousins.

The heart of the black system is the three member (3A, 3B, and 3C) Group 3. They are the most popular male seniors among blacks on campus and are also popular with whites but this may be more related to their prowess on the football team than to other attributes. They are key individuals in the black informal system interconnecting with each of the other five groups.

Their attributes are those which blacks hold in high esteem. Each one owns an automobile and all are outstanding football players. All three hold after school jobs in order to pay for their automobiles and stylish clothes. All three take pride in their ability to rap. Others refer to them as "players" (the manipulation of others) as they also see themselves. They are popular with females on this campus as well as with black females at Central High where they all have girl friends. For example, in addition to about four other black females 3B dates a white girl as well. If 2B's black girls found out about the white one he would be in big trouble so he sees her only after school is out in an empty classroom. Although 3A would like to have as many girls as 3B he is not quite as successful. His steady girl keeps a close tab on him and does not allow much opportunity. But 3A manages to keep at least two other relationships going at the same time.

The interaction between 3A and 3B is far greater than it is between 3C and either of them. 3C is a vocational student as are the majority of blacks in the senior class and a big segment of his day is usually off-campus. 3A and 3B spend most of the day together. They have the same schedule except for one class. 3C may be seen often with either 3A or 3B but seldom are they all seen together. They tend to come together only during set events such as card games, basketball games, smoke sessions or raps. More will be said about these individuals later on but first we will describe the other three groups in the system.

Group four is a pair group. They are residents of Seminole and attended the same elementary and junior high school. 4A and 4B are both football players and are well known around the school for their talents. They are also on the track team. 4A and 4B spend most of their day walking around together checking out the happenings, sitting in the cafeteria listening to the juke box, attending classes together, or doing assignments together in the media center. 4B is a flashy dresser and is considered to be a little more abreast of the styles than 4A, which increases his popularity with the girls. These two students are very close and a great deal of sharing takes place between them. They sometimes wear each others clothes, loan each other money, exchange smokes, turn each other on to girls (that is they introduce each other to girls), and make all sorts of deals with each other. 4A is less outspoken than 4B and can usually be seen in the rear of 4B when they walk together. 4B's other "connections" include 3A, 2B and 1A. The term connections refer to relationships.

Group 5 is incorporated into the black informal system by virtue of its frequent interaction with members of group 3. This group consist of another pair, although not as "tight" as group 4. 5A also spends some time with girl friends of which one happens to be white. 5B is a first team basketball player. He also has two or three girl friends who are in lower grades. Senior females usually date older males among blacks, those who have already completed or dropped out of school. Senior males usually select girls from 9th, 10th and 11th grade.

There is one black male senior who is not part of the black, male informal system at Forrest Park. Nor are his contacts with the two black females. Like them he interacts mostly with white students. He is also involved in a serious love affair with a white female, and most of his time is spent with her. Unlike 3A and 3B, his relationship with the white female is more open. He has little regard for black females, some of who have expressed resentment toward him.

These three black seniors, one male and two female, are of particular interest and significance to us because they have rejected and are rejected by the black informal system. When we seek explanations for this deviation from the pattern we encounter a clustering of behavior and values that aligns them with the predominant middle-class ethos of the school. They are oriented toward academic achievement, are academically competitive, and exhibit independence. Two of them have parents with incomes in excess of $10,000 a year. This variation in black-white separations as expressed in groups leads inevitably to the examination of the value system associated with blacks, its contrast with whites, and its relevance to the academic program.

Behavior and Values Among Black Students:

The friendship groupings among blacks separate and isolate them from other students in the school. An identical statement could be made about white students. In the racial division between whites and blacks and in the internal subdivision within each of these groups, moreover, there is a powerful factor which perpetuates this structuring over time. This factor is the system of valuing from which students judge the behavior of others and which explains the continuing flow of responses to the actions of others.

The valuing process permits the abstraction of behaviors which are approved or disapproved. From the approximation or violation of these standards by individuals and groups arises a ranking status differences. Individual status and prestige is based on the degree to which the valued patterns are incorporated into the repertoire of actions. Patterns and acts of behavior that are devalued, conversely lower the status and prestige accorded the individual. Values are stabilized but also become changed on the informal level of interaction.

For clarification, a listing of values identified with black seniors at Forrest Park has been developed. It should be viewed more as a system rather than as an hierarchical ordering. There is an internal logic which unites them. For example, the individual possessing a high degree of physical prowess usually is successful with females. The sharing of these values depend upon the frequency of interaction on the informal level and on the ideas and beliefs of individuals involved. The outline of values presented below also reflects a larger cultural framework referred to as black culture. It is clear that these values differ in kind and emphasis from those found among whites.

EVALUATIVE SYSTEM

A. MALE PHYSICAL PROWESS
    1. Athletic Participation (football, basketball, and track)
    2. Aggressiveness (fighting)
B. STYLISTIC ORIENTATION IN:
    1. Language (rapping and accompanying body movements)
    2. Grooming (afro hair style)
    3. Dressing (super fly)
C. SUCCESS WITH FEMALES
    1. The Player
    2. The Mack
D. MANIPULATIVE SKILLS
    1. Gaming
    2. Getting Over
    3. Scheming
E. POSSESSION OF AN AUTOMOBILE
    1. The Hustler Image
F. SOUL MUSIC
G. DANCING

Having presented a rough draft outline of values we will now go into a little more detail. The list of values was developed primarily by observation and communication with the students themselves.

Physical prowess is highly valued by black males at Forrest Park who are more attracted to activities involving physical strength, skill, and courage than to other activities. These include football, basketball, and track. The ability to fight well and to win (especially if whites are involved) is also evidence of this value. For a black student to loose a fight to a white student he loses esteem in the eyes of other blacks. If this occurs the black student is subject to ridicule from other blacks. This feeling is illustrated by one student who said of another, "that nigger let a cracker beat his ass". To loose a fight to a white student is not the thing to do. When fights between black and white students take place, the black student is usually the first to strike a blow.

Fashionable styles of speech, dress, and grooming are highly valued among black students and are significantly different from those common among whites. Since these styles change over time conscious efforts are made to stay abreast of the changes. One of the most significant areas is that of language referred to as "rapping". Changes are usually made as students pick up new phrases which spread rapidly among blacks throughout the United States. Terms such as "right on", "there it is", "what's going on" and many others were in current usage as this study was made. White students also incorporate many of these slang terms into their speech. Modifications in intonation patterns are also made by black students. The student who has a "good rap" is one that is able to incorporate the latest styles.

The elaborate phraseology of black language is accompanied by distinctive body movements and gestures. For instance, the mutual slapping of palms, which usually accompanies rapping is used frequently by blacks at Forrest Park. The slap is used to emphasize a point of common agreement. The individual who is doing the talking will initiate the slap by extending his hand to the listener who responds by a slap. When emotional peaks are reached, during a conversation, the two individuals will often spontaneously extend their hands for the slap at the same time. Proper execution calls for a skilled rhythm response. Between "tights" the hand slap is often employed as a greeting ritual. When individuals who are not tight meet each other the greeting ritual normally consist of the "soul shake". This is an inverted handshake with the thumbs interlocked. The pattern described here is widespread among the young in black America.

The "afro" is the popular style of hair grooming. The hair is conditioned by braiding which is usually performed by females who are skilled in the art. Tightly knit braids is an alternate highstyle. The braids are considered as beautiful in themselves. Stylishly groomed hair evokes admiration from the females. Both "afro" and braids have high aesthetic value. The sense of what constitutes proper costume is well developed among black students at Forrest Park. If a student comes to school wearing unmatched clothes, he will be laughed at especially if he is trying to be "fly" (pretentiously dressed). If he is casually dressed (hippie like), it matters much less what is worn. Extreme forms of dress associated with deviant American youth have also been taken up by blacks. They have adopted many of the styles of dress that are associated with the hippie movement of the 60's, such as jeans, bell bottomed slacks, sleeveless shirts, etc. But the fashions that are most accepted are referred to as "superfly", which was the title of a successful movie with a predominantly black cast.

High among the values held by black males at Forrest Park is that of dealing successfully with females. Success in this context is measured by the number of female relationships an individual can manage at one time. The individual who is highly successful at this practice is usually referred to as a "player". The term "player" has much the same connotations as the term playboy. The successful player will probably be the most prestigious individual in his group. His renown will spread to other members of the black informal system, especially through tights who continually boast of their sexual exploits and relationships. The fully accredited player is also a stylish individual with a nice wardrobe.

A variation on the player is the "mack", a term also borrowed from one of the recent movies. It refers to an individual who is able to manage a large number of female relationships and continues to receive favors from them even though they are aware of each other. He aggressively exploits females through his demands on them. And his women may be either black or white. Although this form of relationship is rare in the high school setting a model of desirable behavior has been set.

The black male also acquires status and prestige based upon his ability to manipulate others to his advantage. A variety of strategies are employed towards accomplishing his ends. The strategy referred to as gaming is played on teachers as well as other students (both black and white). It usually requires a high degree of cleverness (primarily verbal) in talking teachers or other students into some action for your benefit. With teachers the goal is usually to gain grades irrespective of performance. With other students the goal is to get lunch money or other material gains. White students are generally easier targets than blacks, who are, in most instances, already familiar with the game. "Getting over" simply means accomplishing these ends. The term scheming refers to the process -- the techniques and strategies utilized. Black students at Forrest Park brag to each other about how they played on some white student. An example of this is presented below.

> One day when 3A did not bring lunch money to school he asked the researcher for a dollar but had no success. He then said, "well I guess I go and try to hustle me one of them white folk -- Yea there it is". He then proceeded out into the center of the mall where most of the white students usually sit and began to run down his game on some kind hearted white student. In a short while 3A was back and at the head of the lunch line after "skipping" all white students who had been waiting their turn.

To acquire ownership of an automobile is one of the greatest ambitions of black males at Forrest Park. The larger and more luxurious the car the better. Lincolns, Cadillacs, Buicks, and Oldsmobiles are the preferred makes. To make them stylish they are equipped with wide white walled tires called "gangster walls". The idea seems to be to portray the immage of the hustler. The costume that accompanies the best auto is expensive and includes the gangster style lid (hat), a brightly decorated long sleeved shirt, bell bottomed knit slacks with cuffs, and high stacked heeled shoes (kicks). The outfit must all match.

Little need be said about the importance of music. Soul music is probably one of the best known expressions of black culture. The auto would be incomplete without a stereo tape system and a collection of soul tapes. Rock music is also collected. Black students cluster around the juke box in the cafeteria listening to their favorite songs during free periods. Dancing is equally important. The better dancers acquire status and prestige and dancing is also a good device to establish relationships with females.

Informal Activities:

Careful observation during a typical school day would reveal small groups of students assembled clustering in various areas around the school. Observation over time establishes the regularities in membership of the groups and the particular space they occupy, the type of activity that takes place, the time at which it begins and ends, and the conditions under which variations in these activities occur. There are also regularities as to who initiates and who terminates action within groups.

Black students seem to differ from whites in the manner in which space becomes claimed as territory respectively by groups. There is clearly demarcated black space as opposed to white space and the same space is seldom utilized by both black and white students. Black students tend to move through a greater variety of areas dependent upon the activity which they seek. The pattern becomes clearer by adducing some examples.

At any one time during the school day a number of informal activities may be taking place at the same time in different places or there may be only one or none. Individuals constantly move in and out of these activities as they arrive from or depart for class. When key (high status) individuals like 3A and 3B depart for class the activity will often come to an end. They will also get activities underway as well as terminate them. For example, shortly before lunch hour 3A and 3B usually get a tonk game (card game) going simply enough by getting out a deck of cards and moving to either of the two spots where black students gather to play tonk. If white students are occupying the park where cards are sometimes played, the game is played on one of two benches adjacent to the art department. On occasions white students have moved when they saw that the blacks were planning to play cards in the park. Whites always departed from the bench when a group of black males approach. By virtue of its use this bench has become a "soul" bench. The park is shared by both blacks and whites but its space is divided. Tonk games are usually played for five cents or less and are viewed as games of pleasure rather than gambling. Very little money exchanges hands.

Black males also spend a great deal of time in the gymnasium playing basketball. Seldom are games organized. Just shooting for the basket is the main activity. Occasionally white students join in but blacks dominate the play on the basketball court. At the same time other blacks will be in rap sessions seated in the bleachers along the walls. Usually four or five students will gather to share experiences of the day and look at girls if any are around. In the rap sessions talk is about whites and the behavior of particular teachers, and how they are best related to. Rapping takes place not only in the gym, but also in the park where smoking is permitted. Smoking is also done in parked automobiles while listening to soul or rock music.

Crap games are associated with underclassmen although senior males often join them. The games are usually played for 25 cents. This game is considered as gambling. A considerable amount of cash can be exchanged in short periods of time. On one occasion, a student won ten dollars, most of it from a couple of senior males who were lured into the game. The games are usually played during the early afternoon in the extreme rear of the park, concealed from observation by trees from the school. A student is assigned to be on the lookout for the deans.

Whites do not join in any of the activities described above except for basketball. The style of activities is alien to whites. Such cultural differences reinforce the separation of whites and blacks and substantiates the existence of a distinct black informal system.

Descriptive analysis and theoretical concepts have been combined in the preceding account to transmit an understanding of the black informal system that excludes whites, although related to whites in its opposition and contrast to the white informal system. The friendship groups within it may be viewed as subsystems; the minimal organizational units which are defined by individuals in frequent interaction. With interaction frequency as the basis of classification the population of black senior males and females was divided into groups. From observation of these groups in action emerged the outlines of the black informal system.

The values which black students hold differ significantly from those held by whites. Supporting evidence is found by examining black and white participation in activities. Blacks and whites prefer different activities and when seldom they engage informally in the same activities the two groups do not intermingle. We are now prepared to extend the analysis by examining the patterns of reciprocal behavior.

One of the universal processes underlying much of human behavior is reciprocity. The idea has been around for quite some time. Marcel Mauss, the French social anthropologist, was one of the first to elaborate on the concept in his book titled in English, THE GIFT. The underlying principle of human exchange is the fact that obligations are created and discharged. Reciprocity will be viewed here as an organizational principal of exchange whereby actions on the part of an individual creates obligations on the part of another. According to Chapple writing from an interaction perspective.

> Mauss maintained that the act of giving someone a gift, the word implies that no return was anticipated (and of course initiating to the person in so doing), created a disturbance or imbalance in the relationship. The act puts the recipient under an obligation to reciprocate by returning a gift in order to balance accounts. The reciprocal act of initiative restored the equilibrium of the person who had received the gift. Failure to do so was emotionally disturbing; it destroyed any pretense of an equal relationship (Chapple p. 218).

Linton writing from a cultural perspective says:

> Every culture includes a series of patterns for what the behavior between individuals or classes of individuals should be. The essence of such patterns is reciprocity (Linton p. 103).

Homans says that one of the oldest forms of social behavior is exchange. He writes:

> Social behavior is exchange of goods, material goods but also non-material ones, such as the symbols of approval or prestige. Persons that give much to others try to get much from them, and persons that get much

> from others are under pressure to give much to them.
> This process of influence tends to work out an equilibrium
> to a balance in the exchanges (Homans p. 292).

The most common form of reciprocity involves exchanges between two individuals. (A) does something favorable (or detrimental) for (B) who is then obligated to do something for (A). The process may involve more than two individuals as we will point out later.

Interaction among black friendship groups is accompanied by a variety of reciprocal relationships. Group (3) of the black informal system has been chosen to provide a few examples of these processes and how they function to maintain relationships. The abstract structures termed groups are built out of such reciprocal relationships.

(3A), (3B), and (3C) are tights. They are organized in a network of reciprocity which includes the exchange of "smokes". (3B) is obligated to bring smokes to school occasionally by virtue of the fact that he has been given smokes by (3A) and (3C). Each of the three has his chance to fulfil his obligations to his friends. The observable rules regarding the transactions are not overt but each one knows when it is his turn to reciprocate.

Not only are reciprocal obligations recognized on the material level but also on the non-material level. This includes the exchange of intangible goods such as emotionally supporting comments or the exchange of favorable remarks. The exchange of help by remarks is another form of reciprocity. The recorded conversation which follows took place between (3A) and (3B). (3A) who had not seen (3B) since the previous day meets him and says:

> "What's going on?" (3B) responds: "Nothing man - You sho nuff clean today, how come you didn't tell me you were going to jump clean?" (3A) then says: "Naw man, I just thought I'd style a little, you know." (3B): "Well you sho hooked up nice." (3B) again after a brief pause, "Dig it man - I just got over". (3A): "What man?" (3B): "You know that cracker you saw me rappin to the other day?" "Well, I talked him into giving me the answers to the test". (3B) then extended his hand about the same time that (3A) raised his, they then slapped their palms together. (3A) then said, "Right on brother - man, I thought you were gaming - that's why I didn't say anything."

Exchanges like the ones above are commonplace among all of the groups in our sample. Reciprocal actions such as the above serve as a basis of emotional support for those involved. 3A and 3B are complementary to each other which accounts in large part for the maintenance of their relationship.

Our brief excursion into the concept of reciprocity brings us once more to the problem of values. Reciprocal relationships are more likely to develop between individuals with common values than those with different values. The end products (values) of the cultural process of valuing, which takes place by way of interaction, are significantly different between black rural students and white surburban students.

The analysis will conclude with a brief excursion into the connection between interaction and communication. The anthropologist Edward T. Hall insists that culture is communication and communication is culture. For our purpose here, we will be concerned with the use of symbols that are given meaning by individuals through recurrent interaction. The process of communication involves the use of both verbal and non-verbal symbols. Verbal symbols refer exclusively to language and non-verbal symbols refer to other meaningful sets of action by the individuals involved.

The following sequence of action will illustrate the point. We will present a short conversation that took place between 3A, 3B, and the researcher himself. 3A and the researcher had been sitting in the mall. As they decided to get up and walk around the school they were met by 3B who had just got out of his music class:

> "What it is?" (3A said, as he extended his hand for 3B to give him the slap, which appear to have become customary especially among tights). They slapped hands as 3B responded, "What's going on?" "Just walking around man. I think I'll skip physical science today. I made an A on the assignment yesterday so I'm good through this week," said 3A as he became attracted to the tool given 3B by his music teacher to help him learn the notes. 3A then said, "Say brother man what you got there?" 3B said, "Check it out man. Then hands it to 3A and laughed and said," do, re, me, fa, so, la, te, do, ain't that some jive. I freak her out. I can play better than most of the other people, but she say I got to learn the notes." While 3B was talking he frequently extended his hand to both the researcher and 3A for slaps which were given. The tool consisted of an arrangement of notes of the scale on a piece of card board with the words do, re, me, fa, so, la, te, do written below.

The above passage represents an example of both verbal and non-verbal communication symbols. The most distinguishing feature of the language is the intonation pattern -- a subject to be best handled by a linquist. But corresponding with the language is symbolic non-verbal communication. The hand slap is used in informal communication by most of the males in our sample. When something is said by the initiator or speaker that is agreed with by those with whom he is interacting, especially when there is an emotional mood underlying the conversation, the slap is frequently used. The rhythm involved in the conversation allows for individuals to simultaneously extend their hand. It is done, it appears, out of habit. That is, individuals do not have to think about when to slap hands. It is done automatically. There are other forms of body movement that are also culturally determined and used in conjunction with language which would require further study.

The point being made here is that communication patterns as a dimension of behavior effectively prevent the full exchange of information between black and white students. These are the cultural patterns that are part of the individuals repertoire of actions. The following statement made by a black student further supports our point, "Man, you never know where they are coming from." In other words, the student meant that he did not understand their (whites') motives, or that he does not know what to expect of them.

Not only does the problem of different communication patterns create barriers between black and white students, but also between black students and both black and white teachers although the gap is far greater with the latter. Thus, interaction patterns which involve communication between black students must be understood by teachers as an integral part of black culture. In order to effectively teach black students, these pattersn must be understood within their own context.

VIII

THE WHITE STUDENT SYSTEM AT FORREST PARK HIGH SCHOOL

Introduction:

Most students are organized into friendship clusters or clique groups. Members of these clusters see each other frequently and over long periods of time associate together. A few students do not choose to interact with others and remain "isolates". Some other students are not permanent members of any friendship cluster but associate regularly with several different students. This pattern of stabilized student behavior constitutes the student system at Forrest Park.

This student system is labelled informal[1] since students choose their close associates. These friendships often carry over after school and they are not mandated by any authority. The phenomenon of student grouping in informal friendship clusters has important implications because of their influence on behavior in two formal[2] school settings, the classroom and the extra-curricular program. The description which follows presents the white, male and female senior informal student system from the perspective of its members. There are no informal friendship clusters embracing blacks and whites and cross-racial casual interaction is extremely rare. The senior, black informal system was studied separately and is discussed elsewhere.

The description of the structure and operation of the white, senior informal student system includes the intracluster, interaction regularities or association patterns of each cluster as well as the external relations of clusters to other clusters and non-cluster associated individuals. The patterns of association were elicited from data derived from the natural-history method. Students were observed over a nine months period in vivo. In addition, dozens of male and female seniors were interviewed regarding behavior and relational positions of their associates and other students in specific activities both in and outside of school settings. Specifically, the behavioral variations of individuals as informal cluster members or non-members were investigated in terms of their intracluster and external association patterns and the relationship of these patterns to participation in the academic and extra-curricular programs at the high school. Personal characteristics of members of each cluster were also collected. A listing of the interdependent factors considered significant in describing and explaining the association patterns of clusters are as follows: (1) number of members of each cluster, (2) positions of membership in student system by individual member of cluster, (3) grade, sex and relative status within the student prestige system for members of each cluster, (4) common locations of assemblage for members of clusters over time, (5) customary formal and informal activities characteristics of each cluster, (6) intracluster relations and external relations of each cluster in terms of the reciprocal obligations which both bind the individual to the cluster, to the activity, and to the setting and which have consequences upon: (a) the type and degree of connections with external clusters and individuals, (b) the type and degree of cross-sexual association both in and out of school, (c) the type and degree of interaction with non-seniors, (d) the type and degree of participation in the formal extra-curricular program by members of the cluster, (e) type of academic interests, grade point averages, Florida State Twelth Test scores, and (f) plans after graduation and socio-economic characteristics of parents.

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[1] informal - a connection that carries over outside of school settings although they may also be in evidence in or around the school.

[2] formal - a connection to the school either through curricular or extra-curricular programs. Some extra-curricular activities are not structured by the school administration and are informal but are considered formal because they occur in and around the school grounds.

Emerging from the data collected during the school year were 25 white female informal friendship clusters and 12 white male informal friendship clusters. 33 students were not attached to any friendship clusters by choice and are called "floaters" and one is an "unacceptable" which means he is excluded from regular membership in any clusters. Six students did not associate with any other seniors and are called "isolates". Seventeen students are members of clusters but do not participate in any subsystems. In total, these students number 89 white males and 94 white females or 183 students. Since there are 117 white males and 106 white females in the Forrest Park senior class, no data was collected on 28 males and 12 females. These students are therefore "unknowns" and excluded from this description.

Based upon an analysis of the association patterns collected for the 25 female and 12 male friendship clusters and non-cluster related students, eight subsystems within the white student system were revealed. Each subsystem has its own "flavor" or its members have distinctive attributes and each subsystem is labelled using the terminology of the Forrest Park senior students. In general, these labels include "straights", "elites", "straight/drama", "sophisticates", "straight/sophisticates", "hippies", "rednecks", and "business". Accompanying the description of each of the subsystems are graphic representations of the organization of the subsystem and attribute charts of each of the clusters and non-cluster associated individuals within the subsystem are at the end of this chapter.

MALE SUBSYSTEM A

Introduction:

Male subsystem A is composed of two friendship clusters and related individuals. Its members participate in senior class government, intramurals, student government, honor societies, and the minor sports. Some of them are in active social life. Other students characterize them as "straights".

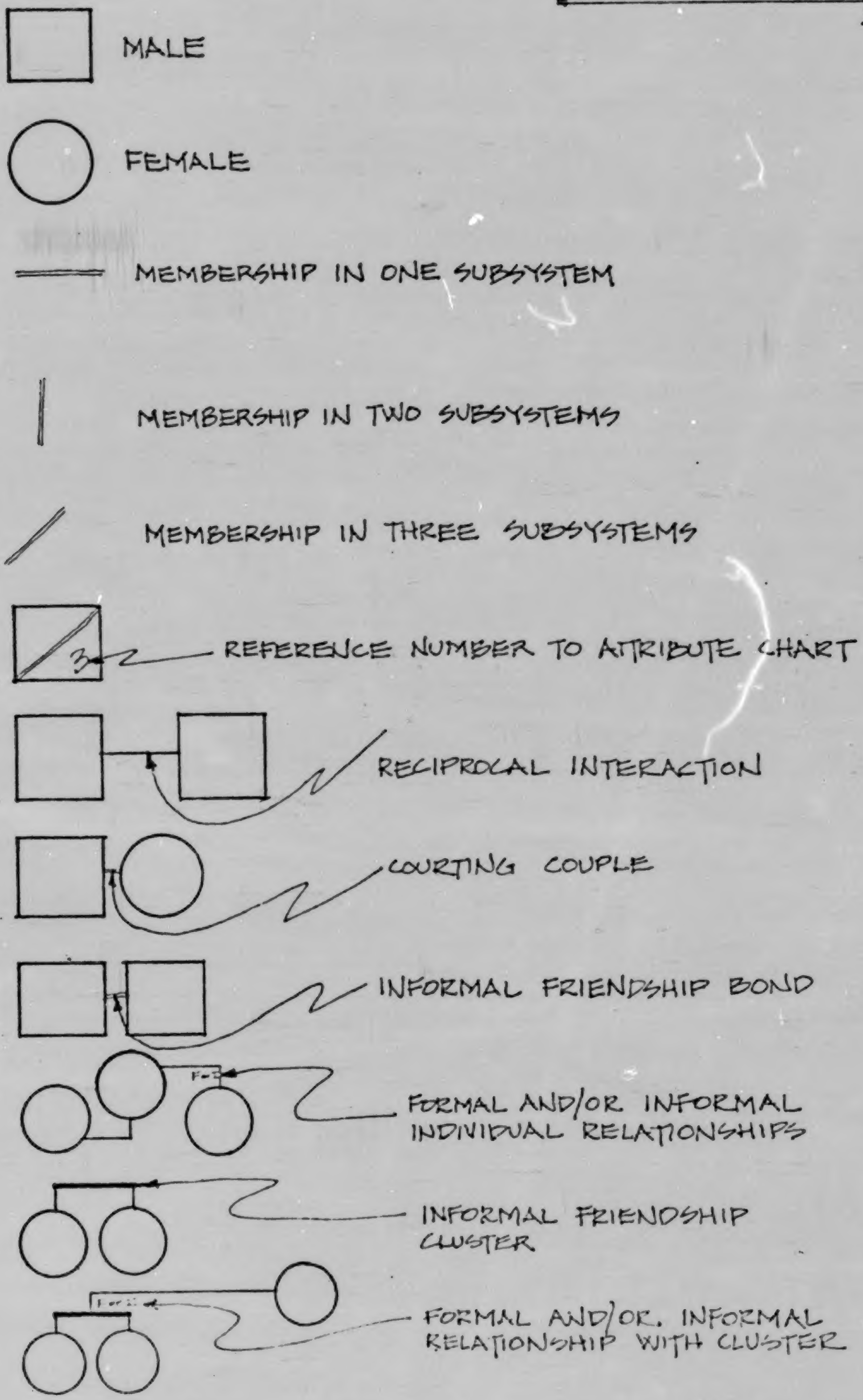
Of the twenty three students nine males are in friendship clusters [A] and [C], nine unattached males who are similar in attributes and a male floater, a representative of cluster [H] and two females.

Activities/Interactions:

Three males, [74], [17], and [64] connect with each other and with other members in networks that are the formal part of this subsystem. These three males most often initiate interactions when in association with others; they also have a greater amount of formal and informal relationships.

LEGEND

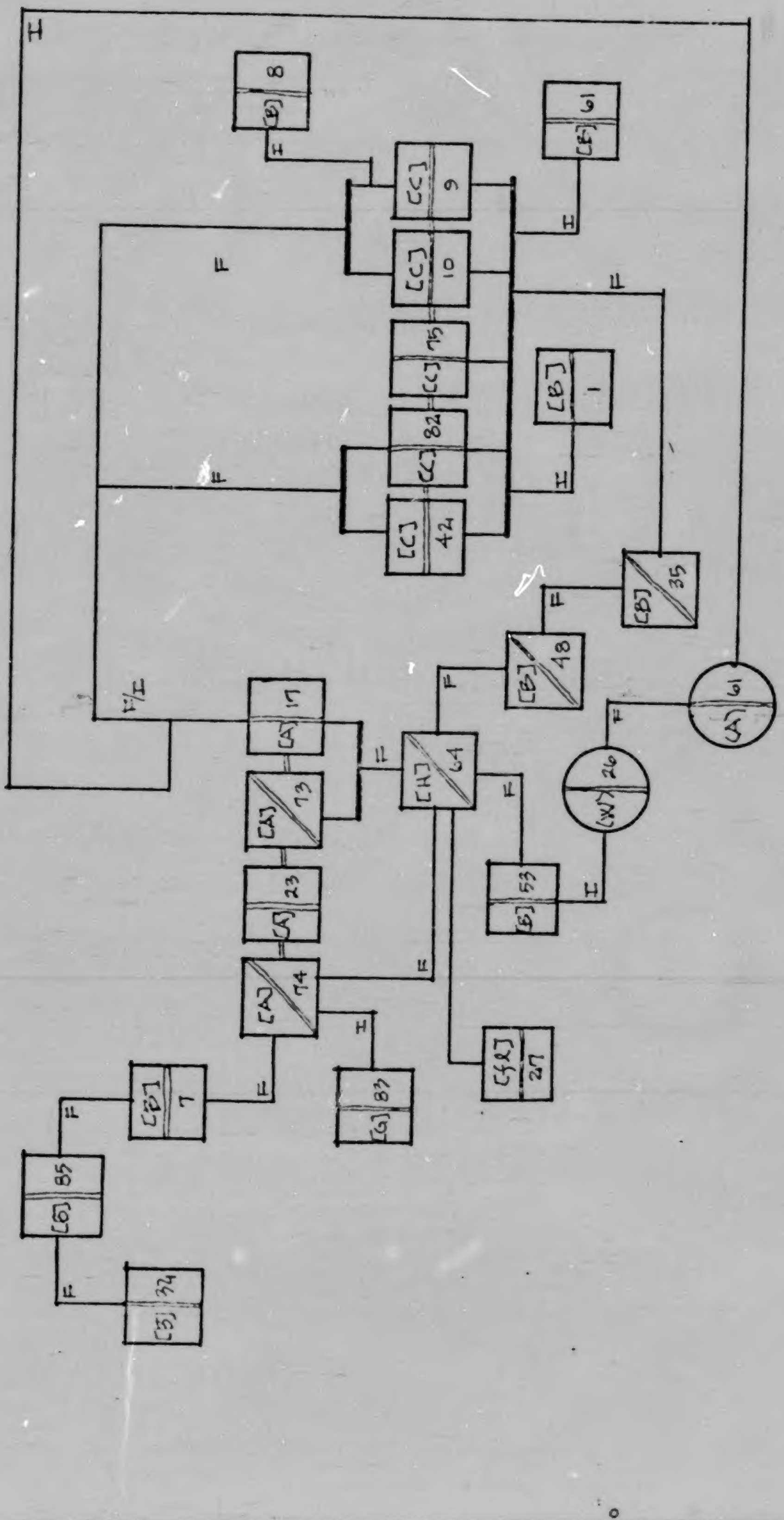
1


MALE
FEMALE
MEMBERSHIP IN ONE SUBSYSTEM
MEMBERSHIP IN TWO SUBSYSTEMS
MEMBERSHIP IN THREE SUBSYSTEMS
3
REFERENCE NUMBER TO ATTRIBUTE CHART
RECIPROCAL INTERACTION
COURTING COUPLE
INFORMAL FRIENDSHIP BOND
F-I
FORMAL AND/OR INFORMAL INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS
INFORMAL FRIENDSHIP CLUSTER
F or I
FORMAL AND/OR. INFORMAL RELATIONSHIP WITH CLUSTER

LEGEND

2

[ ]	DESIGNATES MALE INFORMAL FRIENDSHIP CLUSTER OF MEMBERSHIP
( )	DESIGNATES FEMALE INFORMAL FRIENDSHIP CLUSTER OF MEMBERSHIP
"fl"	DESIGNATES A FLOATER OR ONE WHO IS NOT A REGULAR MEMBER OF ANY INFORMAL FRIENDSHIP CLUSTER
[B]	DESIGNATES MALE FLOATERS WHO USUALLY INTERACT IN TWO OR THREE SUBSYSTEMS AND HENCE REMAIN UNATTACHED FROM INTENSE INTERACTION WITH A CLUSTER


I
[B] 8
I
[C] 9
[C] 10
[C] 75
[C] 82
[C] 42
F
F
I
[F] 61
F
[B] 1
I
F/I
[A] 17
[A] 73
[A] 23
[A] 74
F
[H] 64
F
[B] 48
F
[B] 35
F
(A) 61
F
(W) 26
I
[B] 53
F
[42] 27
F
I
[G] 83
F
[B] 7
F
[G] 85
F
[J] 34

MALE SUBSYSTEM A

They are considered elite because of these connections and their possession of other prestige attributes such as high verbal ability, and intellectual superiority. Other students label [74] and [17] as "straight/elites". [74] associates with [7] and [85] on the varsity tennis team, participates with [23] and [83] on an intramural team, is an advisor to [64], who is President of the student government, is active in other clubs and honor societies, wears fasionable clothing and fulfills his academic responsibilities. [17] participates in similar activities and is active in baseball rather than tennis and is captain of an intramural team in which [82], [42], [10], and [9] are teammates.

Members of cluster [C] usually attend school and city wide sporting events after school and on weekends participate in neighborhood sports such as sandlot football and water skiing. They are often joined by [1], [35], and [61] and sometimes [8].

All members of friendship cluster [A] and type [B] males are active in the Forrest Park activity program and provide clubs and honor societies with their male officers. Both [48] and [35] had leading roles in the yearly dramatic production Goodbye Bobby but do not associate intensively with others interested in drama. [48] and [53] assist [64] in the operation of student government. [32] and [85] work on advanced science projects together and are known for their academic superiority in this area. These formal task orientations do not, however, alter the informal relationships among these students. The amount of male/female interaction is minimal in this subsystem and includes a friendship between [53] and (26) and courting relationship between (61) and [17]. [27] is included in this subsystem because he is considered a straight and interacts with [64] during student government meetings. [73] is active in student government and other clubs and honor societies, and is a member with [17] on the Forrest Park baseball team. He is recognized for his verbal ability and intellectual superiority.

External relations (outside this subsystem) are maintained with a number of other senior subsystems by 68 percent of the members of this subsystem. Excluded are three of the five members of cluster [C] and [32], [7], and [27] who have relationships with non-seniors. [64], [48], [35], [42] all date non-senior Forrest Park females. [17] dates (61). Through his association with [83], [74] may party with other cluster [G] males who are members of male/female subsystem C. [73] maintains connections with (77) of female subsystem F.

Characteristics:

Other students categorize the members of male subsystem A as "straight". Members of cluster [A] are considered the top elites of the "male straight system" and are often called "socialites". This means they have connections with or are recognized by other elite students, have high verbal ability, are intellectually superior, work closely with administrators, teachers and parents, have family money, are conscious of their social position, and thus are representatives of the approved standards of behavior of their parents, teachers and administrators of Forrest Park School. They make good to excellent grades and score well to extremely well on the senior state examination given to seniors who plan to attend state colleges or universities. They generally take advanced courses in all areas of the college preparatory curriculum. [23] plans to attend a small college in a neighboring state. Both [72] and [74] plan to attend the local state university and [17] was accepted at one of the national military academies. All cluster [A] members are drawn from upper middle class managerial or professional homes; three of them represent the traditional town elite families of University City.

Male type B members of this subsystem are not considered "socialite elites" but all have prestigious attributes such as academic or athletic superiority and several serve as officers in clubs and societies. They take advanced courses in most or all areas of the college preparatory curriculum and other students have labeled some of them as "liberals" which means they have critical views about school and community, and state, national, and world issues. All type [B] males plan to attend a college or university. [53] is arranging to study in Italy and [85] has been accepted at a private, Ivy league men's college. All are drawn from upper middle class managerial or professional homes.

Members of cluster [C] are in general average to above average students and except for [75] do well on one senior state examination. [42], [10] and [9] plan to attend the local state university and [82] and [75] will attend the local community college.

MALE/FEMALE SUBSYSTEM C

Introduction:

Unique to the Forrest Park student system is one subsystem in which males and females are joined as an operating unit. It may well be that the distinctive attributes of its members as well as the kind of formal participation in the school constitute the factors which explain this sexual conjunction.

These students are labelled by others as sophisticated and "liberal" and some of them are seen as "sophisticated hippies". They combine an active male-female social life with participation in student government, and membership in honor societies. Intellectually they rank at the superior level.

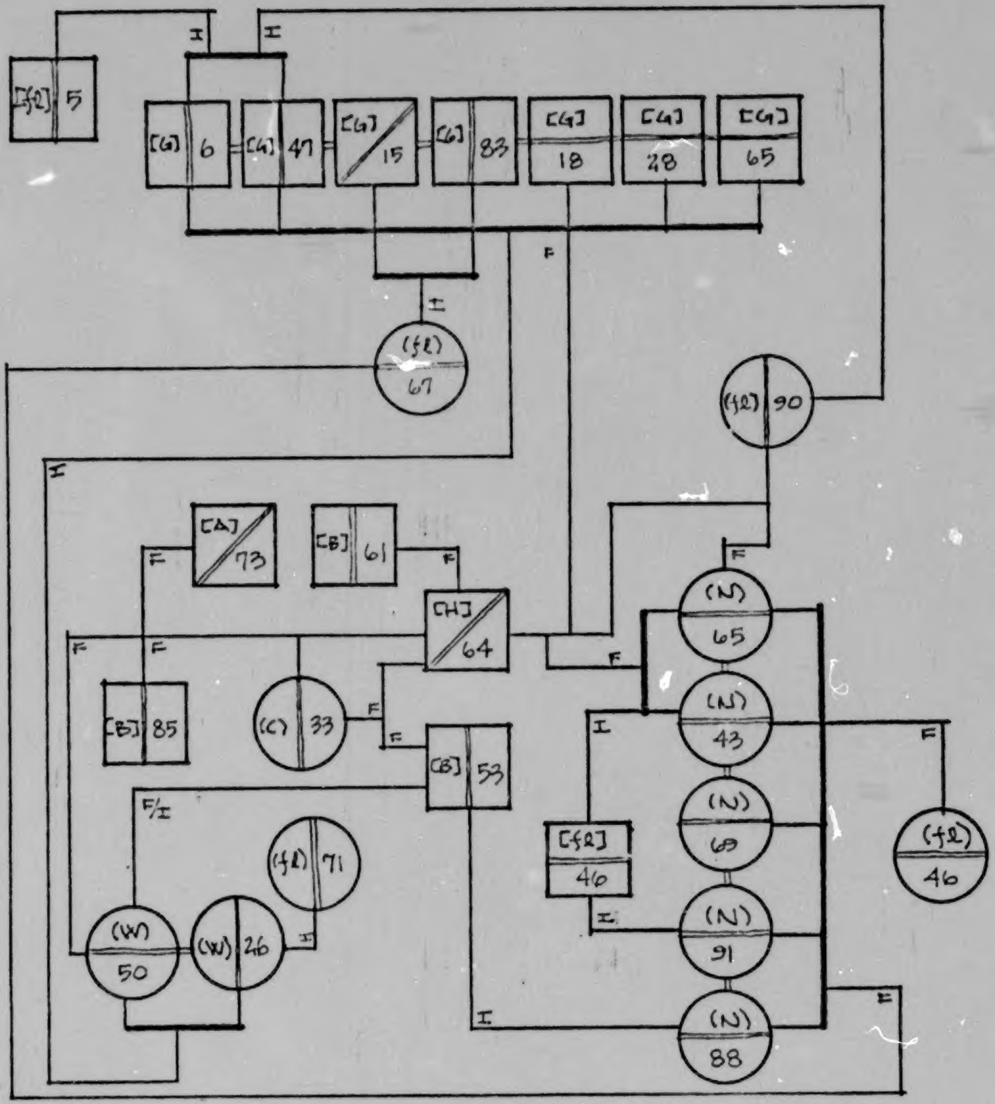
The personnel includes 12 females and 14 males divided among one male [G] and two female (N) and (W) clusters with the remaining 7 males and 4 females classified as unattached floaters.

Activities/Interactions:

The complexity of this subsystem arises from the interlinkages with other friendship clusters. [5] identifies primarily with male informal friendship cluster [G] and [73] with male friendship cluster [A]. [61], [85] and [53] are members of male type [B] friendship cluster. Members of this type actively participate in the formal activity program and "float" among several subsystems. [64] is a member of informal male friendship cluster [H]. [46] is tangential to female informal friendship cluster (N) through his informal relationship with (91) and (43). (33) identifies with female informal cluster (C) and (71), (67), (90) and (46) are female floaters, similar to the male floaters mentioned above. These floaters connect the male and female clusters and other individuals in this subsystem.

Twelve members of this subsystem interact more intensively with each other by virtue of membership in student government. One of these individuals [64] is President of the Student Government. Members of clusters [G], (N) and (W) participate in Math and National Honor Societies. Almost all of the male and female floaters are members of one or both of these societies.

The connections based on informal group activities are not modified by associations formed in the formal setting of student government or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(fl) 67
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[B] 61
[H] 64
[B] 85
(C) 33
[B] 53
(fl) 71
(W) 50
(W) 26
(N) 65
(N) 43
(N) 69
(N) 91
(N) 88
[fl] 46
(fl) 46
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I
F/I

MALE/FEMALE
SUBSYSTEM C

honor societies. These informal groups gather both during and after school. Cluster [G] males sometimes join with females in drinking, smoking and courting activities. These "parties" are sometimes celebrated with (90, (67), (26) and (71). Cross sexual interactions on campus occur in the mall in front of the administration building. Items of general school or personal interest are discussed. Half of cluster [G] males date primarily in school females of their own age and half of the males of this cluster choose females outside the Forrest Park School. Two cluster (N) females date [46] and other [N]'s are not known to date. [46] primarily identifies with these two females and is a male counterpart to the "sophisticate/liberal" cluster (N) females. He does not apparently connect to any other males at Forrest Park. (46) was granted the privilege of taking college level courses at the local state university because the administration thought Forrest Park was not a challenge to her. Much of her time is spent off campus but when she is at Forrest Park she will occasionaly associate with cluster (N) members. Eight Male/Female relationships are not considered either dating or courting but are on a friendship basis. These students leave campus together during free time, party together and are rarely seen within school grounds except in front of the administration offices.

External relations are maintained with a number of subsystems by most members of this subsystem except cluster (N) females. However, all these individuals have minimal association with non-seniors both on campus and out-of-school. Cluster [G] males and cluster (N) females are well known since they are or have been active in student activities, particularly student government. They are also known for their parties and dating activities and for these reasons are considered elite and possess prestige. These individuals are not, however, as widely known as the top elites of the school discussed in subsystem A. Cluster (N) females are not as well known because they are not as active in student affairs and do not party. (67) and (90) and (33) are the best known because of their connections with most senior elite clusters and the amount of informal connections at the school. They also party.

Characteristics:

Other students categorize the members of Subsystem Male/Female (C] as sophisticated and "liberal". This means that they express critical views about school, community, state, national and world issues. All have well developed verbal skills and exercise the ability to conduct themselves in public with confidence and have regular social exchanges with the opposite sex. All except [5] and (71) take advanced courses and cluster (N) females are particularly recognized for their intellectual accomplishments. Some students report that these individuals could improve their grades if they worked to capacity. They are drawn from middle and upper middle class mostly managerial and professional families. Most are university bound. (46) was awarded a scholarship to a prestigious California university.

MALE SUBSYSTEM D

Introduction:

Another variant of the informal subsystem is composed of males who, in general, participate minimally in the formal activity program, spend most of their free time in the front parking lot or off campus, and are considered to be poor students. Most date, some regularly, many drink and smoke, and they have little association with members of other subsystems. Other students describe them as "hippies" or "hippy-rednecks".

The amount of interactions on an informal basis between friendship clusters exceeds that of any other subsystem in the senior class. Thirty two of the 37 members have informal connections with other members. Five informal friendship clusters [H], [I], [K], [L] and [M] compose this subsystem. Three males, [63], [44] and [86] are members of this subsystem but are not included in anyone of these five clusters.

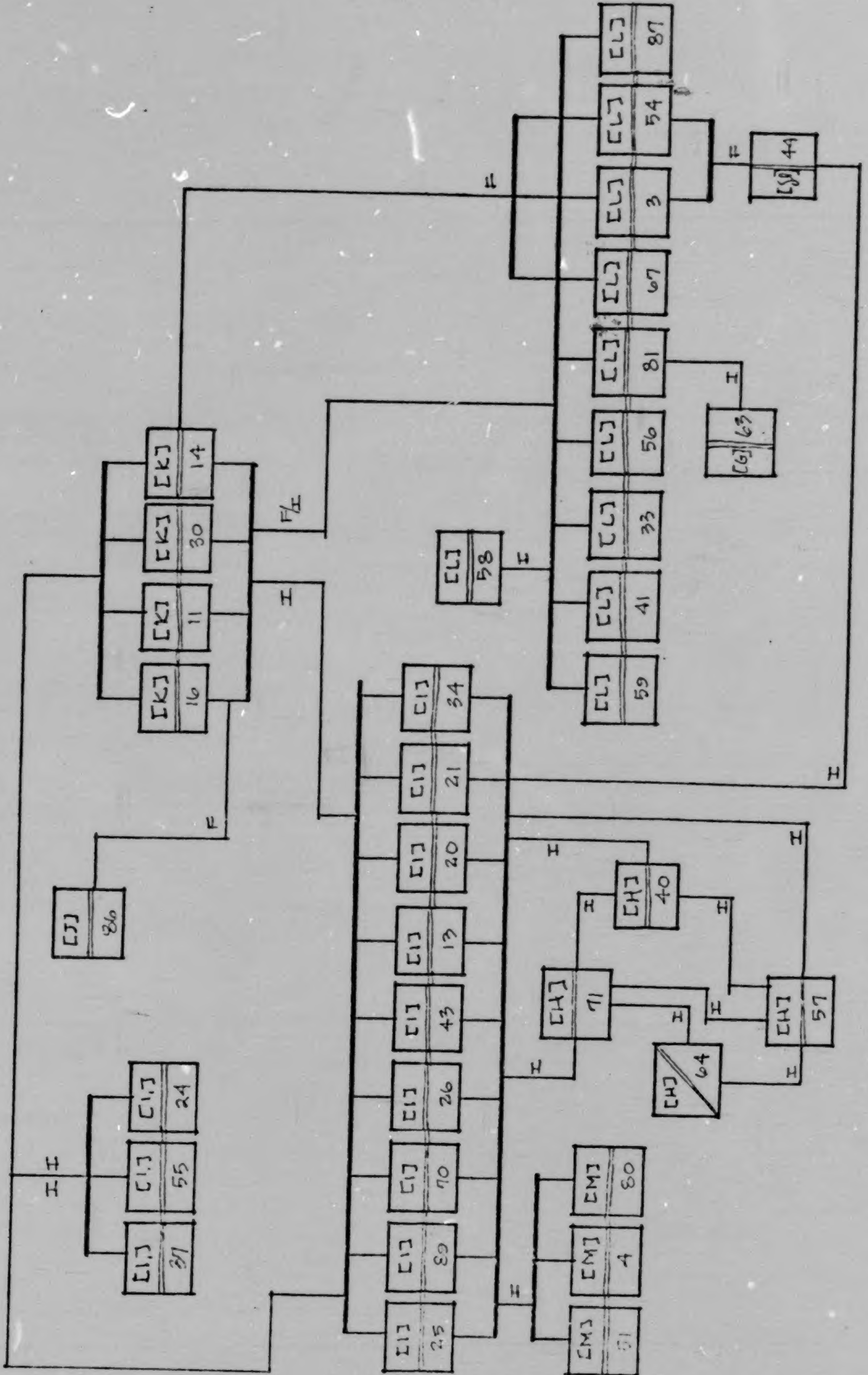
Activities/Interactions:

Three members of this subsystem, [64], [44] and [63] are active in other subsystems. [64] is President of the Student Government and has many interlinkages by virtue of this position. [44] "floats" between these hippies and the "straight sophisticates" in Female Subsystem B. [63] is a regular member of "Sophisticate/Liberal" friendship cluster [G]. This subsystem is therefore exclusive for 95 percent of its members; however, each cluster welcomes new members if they share common attributes.

Fourteen members of this subsystem from clusters [K] and [L] participate in football and/or basketball. Except for [64], [63], and [44] this is the sole connection to the formal activity program by members of the subsystem except for the three [M] cluster members who are enrolled in the Diversified Co-operative Training Program. The informal connections among friends who participate in sports are maintained during practice time unless interrupted by formal training activities.

These informally interrelated friendship clusters gather both during and after school. Members of clusters [K] and [L] attend sporting events together. They also join with members of clusters [H], [I] and [M] in drinking and smoking activities. Cluster [K] and [L] members have claimed areas of the mall in front of the library but other friendship clusters predominately gather in the front parking lot or are off campus eating lunch, "driving around" or park at convenience stores.

All cluster [H] members date regularly and as "sophisticated hippies" are similar to cluster [G] males except they dress more casually, and drink and smoke more frequently. [64] does not always join the other members of cluster [H] in these activities and he tends to be more conservative and more school oriented since he has the responsibility of running student government. [64] dates a Forrest Park junior and sister of a member of cluster (N). Other members of cluster [H] date both in school and out of school females of generally the same age. Cross-sexual interactions on a friendship basis occasionally occur with members of Female Subsystem B. Most members of [I], [L] and [M] date. They frequently court non-senior females in the front parking lot or in their claimed areas of the mall or off campus. Some have been reported to date many girls and "be out for what they can get". Members of cluster [K] date some and have few cross-sexual interactions on a non-dating basis. Interactions with non-senior males or females are common for all friendship clusters except cluster [H]. Cluster [H] members are better known from their informal association with [64]. Ohters are not well known since they participate minimally in the formal school organization except [3], [14], [16] and [33] who are football and/or basketball stars and [20] and [21] who were the original or prestine "hippies" of the school and appear to lead others on occasion.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[L] 67
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[L] 59
[L] 58
[G] 44
[G] 63
[K] 14
[K] 30
[K] 11
[K] 16
[J] 86
[I] 34
[I] 21
[I] 20
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[I] 43
[I] 26
[I] 70
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[H] 40
[H] 71
[H] 57
[H] 64
[I,J] 24
[I,J] 55
[I,J] 37
[M] 80
[M] 4
[M] 51
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MALE SUBSYSTEM D

Characteristics:

Other students categorize the members of this subsystem as "hippies", hippy/rednecks" or "sophisticated hippies". Clusters [I] and [M] are labelled "hippies" because they lack interest in formal education, appear in casual and sometimes extreme clothing and grooming styles and focus on smoking. Skipping classes and "playing hookey" are commonly expected behaviors among cluster[I] and [M] members. Cluster [M] members are labelled "hippy/redneck" because of their additonal interest in fast cars and motorcycles and their participation in the Diversified Co-operative Training Program. Members of clusters [L] and [K] are either "hippies" or "sophisticated hippies". "Hippies" drink and drive around looking for action. "Hippy sophisticates" may take several advanced courses in areas of their interest, have critical views of school and community and display a mature and competent presence while playing football and/or basketball. Members of clusters [I], [L] and [M] generally follow what students call an "easier curriculum" which means they usually have many underclassmen in the courses and the courses are not college preparatory.

In general, members of this subsystem make average to below average grades and are not interested in further formal education. They are drawn primarily from lower middle class homes. Several members of cluster [L], [3] and [33] and cluster [H] members plan further education but are not reported to apply themselves in their school work. [11], [30] and [14] of cluster [K] plan to attend college with athletic scholarships, if available. They are drawn from middle class homes and make average to good grades.

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM D

Introduction:

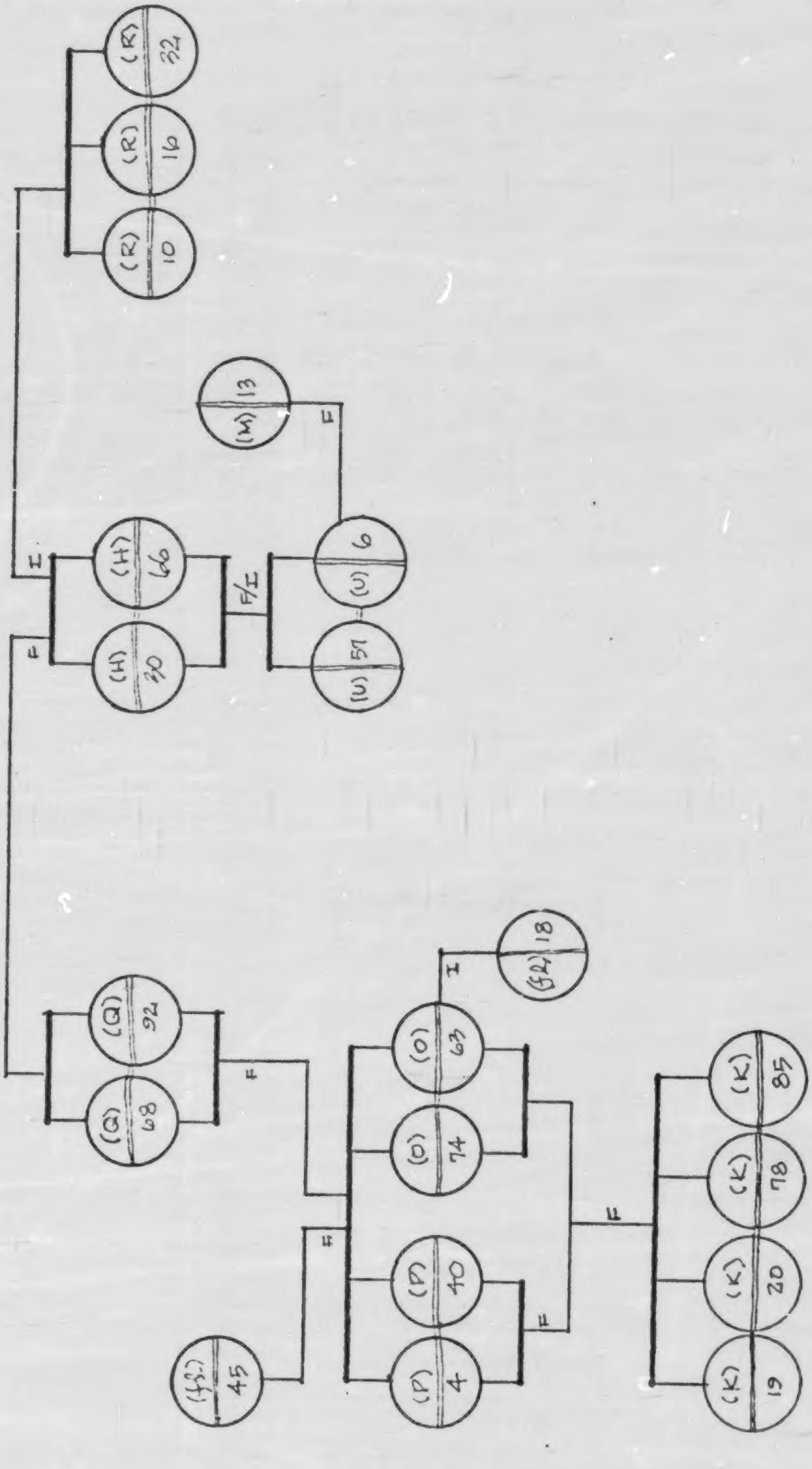
Female students enrolled in the Co-operative Business Education Program form another subsystem. They engage in off-campus job experiences and associate together in informal friendship clusters both during and after school. Other students characterize them as nice, quiet, vocationally oriented students.

Seven informal friendship clusters, (H), (K), (O), (P), (Q), (R), and (U) are members of this subsystem. Three other females, not included in any one of these six clusters, are also members of this subsystem. In total there are twenty females in this grouping.

Activities/Interactions:

The internal differentiation in this subsystem arises from the nature of the interconnections among the individuals. Based on interaction regularities in formal and informal settings two mini-subsystems emerge with clusters (H), (R) and (U) forming one informal/formal mini-subsystem and clusters (H), (K), (O), (P) and (Q) composing the formal mini-subsystem.

During the course of the formal business education class. cluster (H) members conduct class routines usually with members from clusters (Q) and (U) and vice versa. Clusters (O) and (P) and (45), who floats between (O) and (P) generally conduct class excercises together along with members of clusters (Q) and (K). (18) takes business courses but is not a member of the CBE program. She sometimes lunches with (63).


(R) 10
(R) 16
(R) 22
(M) 13
F
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(H) 30
(H) 66
F
F/I
(U) 57
(U) 6
(Q) 68
(Q) 92
F
I
(S2) 18
(O) 74
(O) 63
F
(P) 4
(P) 40
F
F
45
(K) 19
(K) 20
(K) 78
(K) 85

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM D

Relationships between friendship clusters on an informal basis include cluster (H) members with members of cluster (R) and (U). One cluster (U) member, (61), associates with (13), usually in the library. Members of (U) and (H) may meet to socialize in the library. Clusters (H) and (R) usually gather off-campus during lunch and after school. Cluster (H) holds the most prestige because of formal and informal linkages with the other females. (30) is Vice-President of the CBE club and is reported to be the chief spokesman for most of the members of this subsystem. Before choosing business curriculum, (30) was a member of Female Subsystem (B) and close friends of (77), (62), and (29). Members of cluster (R) are members of the National and Math Honor societies. Friendship cluster (U) contains the President of the CBE club, (57). She identifies primarily with female friendship clusters (A) and (B) of Female Subsystem (A). She remains a member of cluster (B) although electing to join the CBE program. (57) is also a member of the Math and Honor Societies. Both (57) and her best CBE friends, (6) and (30) all date and in the past or currently maintain external relations with another subsystem and manifest organizational skills and talents.

These and other CBE girls who are known to date choose non-Forrest Park males who are usually older. Participation in school affairs by members of this subsystem is predominantly within subsystem (D) and only two of the eleven CBE girls or 18 percent connect to other subsystems. Although the formal CBE program brings these girls into the classroom, tasks do not alter the informal connections. However, CBE club members have reported that the informal nature of these friendship clusters and connections permit the smooth operation of the formal CBE program in that each member of the subsystem has an obligation to her informal friends to conduct herself in a "lady-like" and "business-like" manner when working both in class or outside on the job.

Characteristics:

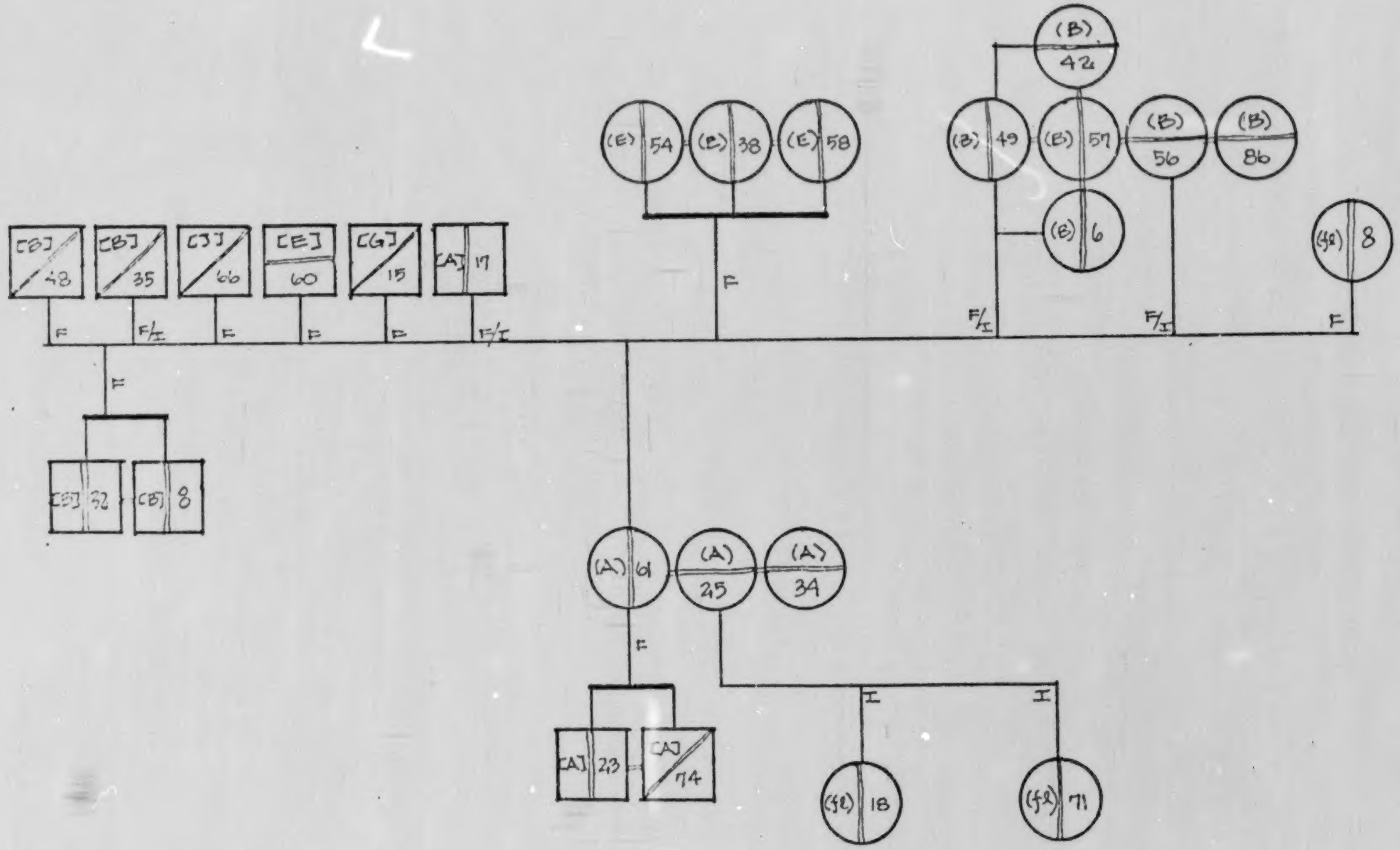
Members of clusters (H), (R), and (U) are generally categorized by other students as straight, quiet, good to excellent students with whom one can easily associate. They have either or both organizational talents and intellectual abilities and have some social exchanges with males. they are drawn from a mixture of middle and upper middle class homes. Clusters (K), (Q), (P), and (O) are described by other students as straight, quiet, not well known females who make average to below average grades and remain exclusively within their CBE subsystem. They represent predominately lower middle class homes. Most members of this subsystem plan careers in clerical work or business management. (18) is drawn from an upper middle class managerial home.

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM A

Introduction:

Twenty five students are members of this subsystem and group themselves into three female friendship clusters (A), (B), and (E), representatives of male friendship clusters [A], [E], [G], and [J] and four male floaters and three female floaters.

Members of this subsystem participate in senior class government, particularly the senior cabinet. Most are members of several subsystems and other students characterize them as "straight elites" or "straight intellectuals".


[B] 48
[B] 35
[J] 66
[E] 60
[G] 15
[A] 17
(E) 54
(E) 38
(E) 58
(B) 42
(B) 49
(B) 57
(B) 56
(B) 86
(B) 6
(fl) 8
F
F/I
F
F
F
F/I
F
F/I
F/I
F
[B] 32
[B] 8
(A) 61
(A) 25
(A) 34
F
[A] 23
[A] 74
H
H
(fl) 18
(fl) 71

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM A

Activities/Interactions:

Within this subsystem, (61), President of the Senior Class, formally or informally connects every other member except (18), (71), (42), and (6). (61) most often initiates, guides and terminates interactions when in association with these students. (61) is considered elite because of her large amount of formal and informal connections and possession of high verbal ability, organizational talents, fashionable clothing, and close working relationships with faculty and administration. Each member of this subsystem aside from (18), (71), (32), (42), (6), (86) and (57) are active participants in the senior class cabinet. (25), (34), [17], [66], [74], and (54) frequently assist (61) in making decisions pertinent to the senior class business. (25) is Vice-President of Future Business Leaders of America club and (34) is co-editor of the school newspaper.

Members of cluster (E) identify chiefly with Female Subsystem (E) and do not informally associate with other members of this subsystem. Two members of cluster (B), (49) and (56), in addition to serving on the senior cabinet, sometimes attend movies or shop with (61) and the other members of her friendship cluster. Cluster (B) provides Forrest Park with its female officers in the French and Spanish clubs as well as the math and national honor societies. All members of cluster (B) have common interests in literature, the theatre and cinema. (18), (71), and (25) take business courses together and are also out-of-school friends. Their informal relationships do not include other students taking business courses. Members of cluster [A], [23], [74], and [17] sometimes attend parties with (61), (25), and (34). [35] will join the party on occasion with his non-senior Forrest Park girl friend. All students connected informally to (61) are often found in the senior "straight elite" section of the mall, library and cafeteria. These territories are the central mall, south end of the library, and the southeast sector of the cafeteria. The other type [B] males, [48], [66], [60], [15], [32], and [8], limit their interactions with cluster (A) members to the formal classroom, club or honor society meetings, the senior cabinet and only occasionally inhabit the elite sections of the mall, library and cafeteria.

Seventeen of the twenty five or 68 percent of the members of this subsystem are participants in one or two other subsystems. Except for [48] and cluster (E) members, members of this subsystem have few associations with non-seniors. If interactions with non-seniors occur, they are usually with straight elite junior males and straight elite freshmen, sophomore and junior females. (8) also associates with friendship clusters (E) and (M) in female subsystem (E). She is considered less prestigious for her connection with these two clusters.

Characteristics:

Students characterize the members of Female Subsystem (A) as straights, particularly members of clusters (A) and (E). (61) is described as the top elite among the female straight subsystem and she sets the pace for the senior cabinet. She was recognized by a civic club for her outstanding contributions to school and community. All members of cluster (A) are good to excellent students, "ladylike" and take advanced college preparatory courses, particularly in language arts. They are drawn from upper middle class managerial or professional homes and plan to attend the local state university.

Members of cluster (B) and (8), but excluding (6) and (42), are considered intellectuals while cluster (A) members are more active socially. (56) was co-valedictorian of the class. They are considered serious students and make excellent grades and do well on the senior state examinations. They take advanced courses together in most areas of the curriculum and are considered quiet, ladylike, and soft spoken. (57) was valedictorian and has been accepted to the local state university. Other members of cluster (B) plan to attend the state university in the capital city. (8) too plans to attend the state university in the capital and she received special recognition during graduation for her contributions to Forrest Park School.

MALE SUBSYSTEM B

Introduction:

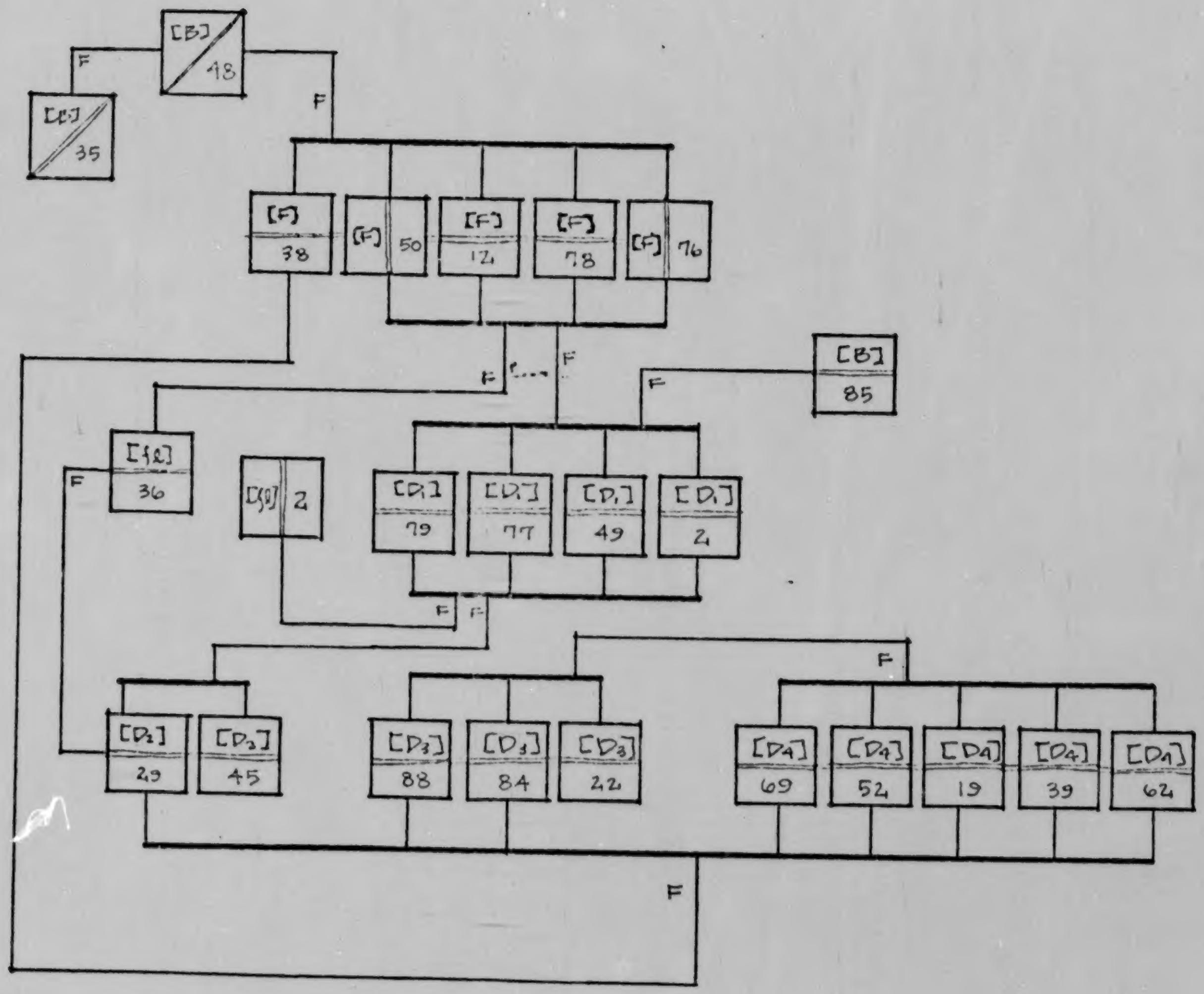
This major all male subsystem is composed of two informal friendship clusters [D] and [F]. Some of these members have a common interest in either or both music and drama and some in advanced science and mathematics. The larger cluster [D] with fourteen members subdivides into four smaller units and the related friendship cluster [F] numbers five. Members of this subsystem, not included in any one of these two clusters, are two floaters and three type [B] males. Combined they constitute Male Subsystem B.

Activities/Interactions:

Members of this subsystem belong to the band and the drama club and see each other regularly in these formally organized programs. They also informally socialize with each other, primarily in the component smaller subclusters [D_1], [D_2], [D_3], [D_4], and cluster [F] and during free periods associate largely in the band room but also in the cafeteria, the area of the mall in front of the auditorium, the central part of the library or the science and math wings of the school. Members of [D_2] interact most often with younger males in the band and spend a large amount of time studying and reading in the library. Members of subclusters [D_3] and [D_4] spend their free time in the mall or the library but most often in the science and math wings. Although they are friends with members of [D_1] and [D_2] they do not interact with them as much as among themselves. Members of this subsystem usually do not leave campus during free time.

External relationships are minimal and predominately occur in formal settings. For example, [2] and [85] interact in advanced science and math courses. [35], [48], and [36] are interested in dramatics and relate in formal settings with members of cluster [F]. All cluster [D_1]'s and [19] and [78] are members of the math and national honor societies. Cluster [D_1] members are elite within this subsystem with musical and intellectual talents above the level of other cluster [D] members and cluster [F] members. In addition and perhaps of greater significance is the formal, in-class interaction its members have with males and females of comparable abilities intellectually. Half of the members of subcluster [D_1] date underclass in-school females in contrast to other members of subclusters [D_2] and [D_4] who do not date. Dating and intellectual superiority provide this elite group with two of the elements of prestige. Other cluster [D]'s and cluster [F]'s associate more often with non-seniors than members of cluster [D_1].

The school relationships described above do not generally continue after school. The only relationships which occur after school hours are


[B]
48
35
F
[F]
38
50
12
78
76
[B]
85
[D1]
79
77
49
2
36
2
[D2]
29
45
[D3]
88
84
22
[D4]
69
52
19
39
62

MALE SUBSYSTEM B

meetings at band concerts or sporting events in which each student arrives and departs separately.

The connections based on informal friendship are not modified by associations formed in the formal club and classroom settings. A look at the following school activity will demonstrate how the informal clusters provide a working foundation within the subsystem. Approximately half the males within this subsystem participated in the dramatic or musical components of the annual production, Goodbye Bobby. Although the formal association among these males provided an organization so that Goodbye Bobby could be staged, the informal relationships among them did not alter. Even without the total complement of each informally bonded cluster, the pre-existing relationships were maintained. Task orientation in this case did not alter informal friendship networks.

Characteristics:

In the student system of categorization the members of Male Subsystem [B] are labelled as "straight/drama" or "straight/band". This means that they are cooperative with the school authorities, attentive to their studies, of quiet demeanor, interested in music or drama or both, and generally have limited social exchanges with other students, including females. All members of [D_1] make excellent grades and they also score among the top seniors in the Florida State Twelfth Grade Test and score near the top students in the nation on the National Merit Scholarship Examination. Members of subclusters [D_2] and [D_4] take regular college preparatory courses and score moderately high to high on the senior state test. Members of [D_3] make average grades, score moderately high to high on the state test and participate in no extracurricular activities. Members of cluster [F] make average to above average grades and score moderately high on the state test. Members of subclusters [D_1], [D_2], and [D_4] represent predominately upper middle class professional or managerial homes. Members of [D_3] and [F] are from middle class homes.

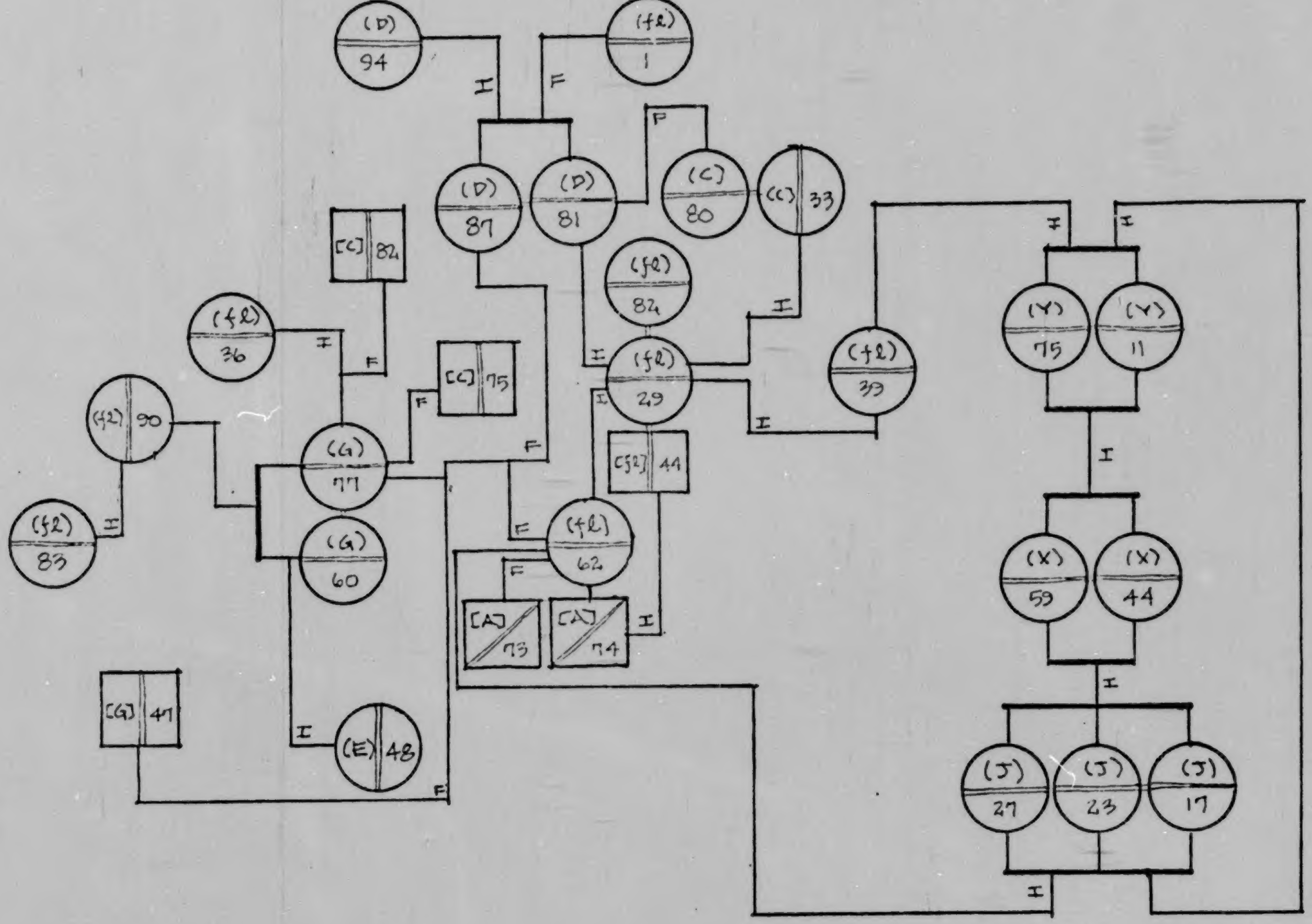
FEMALE SUBSYSTEM B

Introduction:

Female subsystem B, categorized by other students as "straight-sophisticates" represents a complex grouping of 23 females and 8 attached males. The females are in pair clusters, (C), (D), (G), (I), (X), (Y), or floaters. The females are participants as band or chorus members, majorettes, and on the school annual staff. Two males are linked through the annual and six more through social behavior of courting, talking, and partying. Off-campus activity includes shopping, movie going, lunching, and parties. The females gather in the mall during their free time.

Activities/Interactions:

The complexity of this subsystem arises primarily from the interlinkages of (77), (29), and (62) with male and female floaters and other female friendship clusters. These three girls most often initiate, guide and terminate interactions when in association with others. They also have the greatest amount of formal and informal relationships and are considered elite because of their formal and informal connections and their possession of other prestige attributes such as high verbal ability, family money, fashionable clothes, cross-sexual relationships


(D) 94
(fl) 1
(D) 87
(D) 81
(C) 80
(C) 33
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(fl) 84
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(fl) 29
(fl) 39
(f2) 90
(G) 77
[f2] 44
(f2) 83
(G) 60
(fl) 62
[A] 73
[A] 74
[G] 47
(E) 48
(Y) 75
(Y) 11
(X) 59
(X) 44
(J) 27
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(J) 17
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F

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM B

but are not rated high intellectually or in their academic choices. Other females in this subsystem, all friends of these three on an informal or formal basis share many of the above attributes. Members of clusters (J), (X), and (Y) are considered to be more straight and studious and they participate in the honor societies and language clubs. (77) and her best friend, (60), both date older non-Forrest Park males. Other cross-sexual interactions occur in the mall in front of the administrative offices. Members of the other informal friendship clusters (C), (D), (J), (X) and (Y) generally choose older non-Forrest Park males for their dating partners. The most intense cross-sexual interactions occur by virtue of a long term dating relationship between (62) and [74] and (29) and [44]. Occasionally these couples double date.

(77) was elected Homecoming Queen, is captain of the varisty cheerleaders and co-editor of the annual. The other senior cheerleader, (60), also works on the annual staff. [47], [75], and [82] are active on the annual staff and [75] serves as co-editor. (81) is captain of the majorettes and (87) the co-captain. Members of clusters (J), (X), and (Y) are not active in the organizations in which they are members. They spend their free time usually off campus or in the library.

Membership in this subsystem is exclusive for all females except (33), (48), and (90). (33) is Vice-President of student government; (90) is active in student government and they both participate, therefore in Male/Female Subsystem (C]. (48) is active in drama club and is accordingly a member of Female Subsystem (E). [73] and [74] are both members of two other subsystems. Most of these subsystem members have minimal association with seniors both on and off campus.

Characteristics:

Other students categorize the members of Female Subsystem B as "straight sophisticates". This means that they are adept in the social graces, think independently on occasion, date frequently and enjoy some partying. These students generally make average to good grades and score moderate to moderately high on the state senior test. They are drawn from middle and upper middle class homes. Some plan to attend a university or college; others the local community college and others a special art of fashion school.

FEMALE SUBSYSTEM E

Introduction:

This subsystem of students is composed of five female informal clusters, (E), (F), (L), (M), and (V), three female floaters, a representative of male cluster [J], two representatives of male cluster [F] and a male floater, [48]. All members are interested in drama and/or the pep club and members of (E) are also active in the math and national honor societies, senior class government, language and music organizations. Among the females in this subsystem only members of cluster (E) and (13) in cluster (M) participate in other subsystems. Other students categorize them as straight and conservative. In total there are twenty females and four males in this subsystem.

Activities/Interactions:

The members of cluster (E) and female floater (8) connect all other members of this subsystem. They rank high in this subsystem because of their cross-sexual interactions, most often initiate, guide and terminate interactions, are formally connected to other subsystems, and are active in diverse formal activities. Cluster (V) members are considered "straight intellectuals" and are active in the honor societies and connected to (8) and (58) who are also honor society members. Members of friendship cluster (L) are considered "hippies" and remain by themselves except through association with (35) who participates in hippy activities and in dramatic productions. These three hippies date outside of school and two of them are in the work study program. This means they attend Forrest Park half a day and work half a day. they generally make low grades and are drawn from lower middle class homes. Members of cluster (F) and (76) associate formally in the drama club but members of cluster (F) in addition leave campus to lunch or conduct other activities with (48). Cluster (M) members associate with cluster (F) members during drama club meetings or in the drama area of the mall in front of the auditorium. They share an obligation with cluster (E) members to maintain the operation of the drama club and work closely under the supervision of cluster (E) members. In general, associations with non-seniors are prevalent among members of this subsystem.

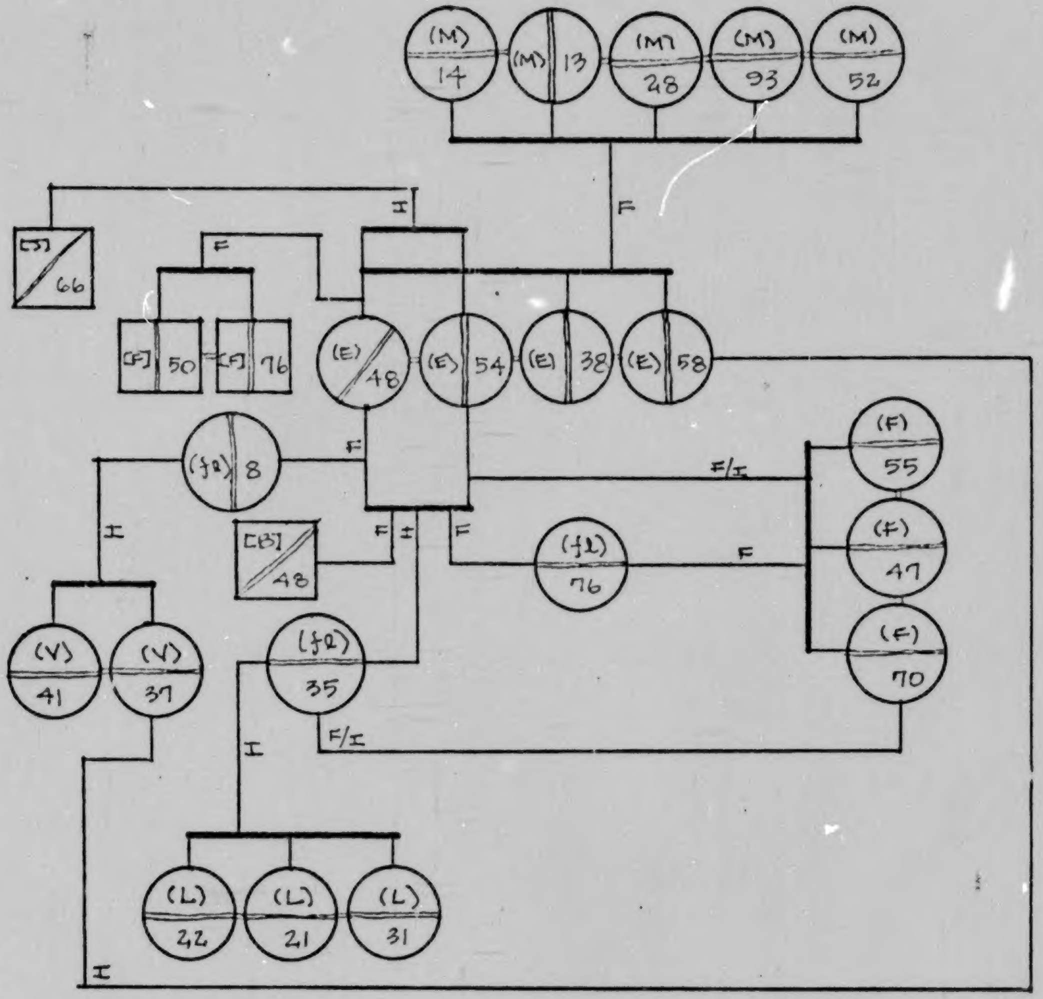
The most frequent male/female interactions occur between [66], [50], [76], [48], (48), (54) and all members of cluster (E). Occasionally (48), (54), [66], and [50] and sometimes members of cluster (F) party together on weekends. [66], his non-senior girl friend, (54), her senior boy friend and (48) often leave campus together for lunch. (54), (38), and (58) date; other members of this subsystem are not known to date or to be particularly popular with males. Few of the members of these informal friendship clusters are friends with members of other clusters after school.

Characteristics:

All the members of this subsystem except members of cluster (L), [48] and [66] are described as conservative, nice, quiet, straight students. This means that they are generally attentive in class, do not drink or smoke, dress conservatively and few have cross-sexual interactions. Members of clusters (F) and (M) and (35) and (48) have been reported by many students to exhibit "immature" behavior. This means that they play jokes on each other, spontaneously conduct plays in the mall or do other "silly" things.

These individuals are a mixture of average, good and excellent students. Cluster (E) members (38) and (58) make excellent grades and score near the top on the State Twelth Grade Test and are recognized for their academic accomplishments. (54) and (48) make average grades and score near the median on the State Test. All members of cluster (M) make good grades and score well on the State Test. Members of cluster (V) are serious students and make good to excellent grades and score well on the Senior State Test. They are drawn from professional homes. (54) plans to attend a small college in a neighboring state. (38) was awarded a scholarship to a private university in the Midwest and (58) and (76) plan to attend the local state university. (48) might attend the local community college.

The fathers of most members of this subsystem are local merchants. Several are professors at the local state university. Family incomes are generally middle class with several lower middle and a few upper middle class.


(M) 14
(M) 13
(M) 28
(M) 93
(M) 52
F
I
F
[J] 66
[F] 50
[F] 76
(E) 48
(E) 54
(E) 38
(E) 58
(f2) 8
F
F/I
[B] 48
F
I
F
(f1) 76
F
(F) 55
(F) 47
(F) 70
I
(V) 41
(V) 37
(f2) 35
F/I
I
(L) 22
(L) 21
(L) 31
I

FEMALE
SUBSYSTEM E

NON-SUBSYSTEM STUDENTS

Observation establishes that there are some students who do not aggregate with others either as members of clusters in coalitions or as unattached but associative individuals. This does not mean that they are isolated from the fellowship which friendship provides or from participation in formally organized student activities. Their failure of inclusion may be due to the absence of an intermediary who connects them into a subsystem or in the case of individuals to specific attributes.

Males:

The five members of friendship cluster [J] include three who have no known connections to other student subsystems. Two others [31] and [86] also link to them at times. They are on the swim team. [86] and [66] both informally associate within the formal setting of varsity football activities. On occasion, [86] and [16] of cluster [K] also interact during football practice. [72] may associate with "math intellectuals" in the math and science wings and is a member of the honor societies. All of cluster [J] members participate in informally organized sand lot or water sports after school and on weekends and resemble members of cluster [C] of Male Subsystem [A]. Cluster [J] members are drawn from a mixture of lower middle class to professional homes and grades span from average to very good. [86] and [7] plan to attend the local community college and [31] and [66] plan to attend the local state university.

[36] and [60] form a pair cluster, [E], and are often found together. They participate together on the tennis team and in intramurals and often play table tennis after school. They are considered "straights" by other students and are generally studying in the library during free time. [36] also has a steady girl friend, (89). She often accompanies [36] and [60] to the library or the cafeteria and (89) and [36] frequently see each other after school. (89) is a loner among other females. Both [36] and [60] and (89) come from upper middle class managerial or professional homes, take advanced classes and all plan to attend the local state university.

Many students describe [68] as attempting to join members of clusters [A] and [B]. He is unacceptable because of personal characteristics and is considered to try "too hard". He is upper-middle class background and makes average to below average grades. He participates in chorus and a non-senior intramural team.

Female:

Students (24) and (64) are described by other students as quiet, serious students who do not have any close friends in particular and who apparently prefer this arrangement.

Although she is well known by many male and females who are members of male subsystem [A] and members of female subsystem (A) as well as male/female subsystem (C), (15) usually chooses to be an isolate. She has reported to researchers that she desires this solitude in order to read and study independently. Occasionally she sits with floater (67) in an isolated area of the front parking lot or leaves campus with her. Other students consider her "strange."

(23), (51), and (84) were labelled by other students as "hippies". Several students commented that they frequently skip school and are oriented toward cross-sexual relationships with older, non-Forrest Park males.

(12) and (9) are isolates. (2) and (4) and (79) and (53) form two pair clusters, respectively within the CBE program. They associate only with their partner in the pair cluster and do not interact with any other senior students.

Conclusion:

The description and analysis of the organization and operation of the white, senior, informal friendship system has used interaction patterns and individual characteristics to develop a typology of clusters. Members of each cluster, and floaters, exhibit specific internal social forms or patterns of association, particular kinds of interconnections with other clusters. The clusters also vary from each other in customary habits, attitudes, and characteristics. Taken together these aspects have consequences upon the type and degree of participation in two formal settings in the school -- the extracurricular activity program, and the academic program.

Significant insights which an analysis of this kind produces are the following: (1) No senior blacks and whites are members of a common friendship cluster. This pattern of separation obtains when students are talking, eating and studying and is transferrable to the classroom and the extracurricular program. (2) There is a high degree of consistency between the occupational level and position of parents in the community and their children's membership in friendship clusters. This may be observed in, (a) student categorical designation, (b) academic program of endeavor, (c) grade point average, (d) Twelfth Grade Test scores, and (e) type and degree of participation in the activity program. The behavior characteristics which identify a cluster are brought into the school from their home. Members of the same friendship cluster tend to live in comparable neighborhoods although not usually in the same physical locale. They apparently possess similar ideas concerning grooming, dress and clothing standards and have similar viewpoints concerning the benefits of school, including the values of attending class and participation in the extracurricular program. (3) Only one of the eight subsystems is cross-sexual. Although male-female associations is a common dimension in the dynamics of the several elite subsystems, only the members of subsystem C regularly join and rejoin within the contexts of formal and informal activities at Forrest Park and off-campus. The members of the other seven subsystems conform more consistently to male-female separation on an informal basis with the exception of dating couples. The bi-sexual nature of subsystem C may be a consequence of a male Student Government President who has liberal, sophisticated, male and female supportive staff who customarily engage in few other activities in the activity program. (4) Membership in friendship clusters does not in itself define the social arrangements of the student system. This is achieved only through examining the variety of positions students occupy. The majority of students are members of at least one subsystem and the coalescence of students into larger subsystems and the description of the behavior within subsystem(s) more adequately describes the nature of the white student system. While interacting with the members of the same or other subsystems, every student demonstrates behavior appropriate to the situation. Therefore, student social arrangements cannot be characterized solely by discrete friendship clusters but must include the dynamics of situational student behavior in social subsystems.

Although several dozen students connect subsystems with one another, most white seniors comprise relatively autonomous subsystems of interacting clusters with pronounced cleavages separating members of one subsystem from another. These cleavages between students were dramatically demonstrated, for example, when students were enlisted to describe the social arrangements in the senior class. Students were able to offer information about their friends and associates, but were, in general, unable to comment upon non-related members of other subsystems. Most students have only in the most general way a sense of the interconnective student system. A few have a general awareness of the regularities in associative patterns. The consequences of this system of cleavages probably extends to the post high school world of further training and work. Some students have not acquired abilities in thinking, organizing, and maintaining interpersonal relationships which are demanded by contemporary metropolitan and scientific society.

This capability to establish new groupings based on existing friendship clusters is vividly evidenced in the organization of the student initiated Intramural Program. Variables of sponsorship, percentage of senior membership, sex, and identification of team members by friendship cluster (see Table No. 1) demonstrate the connection between association in subsystems and the social form of a new coalition, the intramural team. Team membership is an expression of sex, grade-level, status, and friendship connection. (5) Student Activities occur in territories claimed by members of interacting friendship clusters. Space is categorized and subsequently viewed as belonging to specific personnel who engage in distinctive kinds of behaviors appropriate to the activity. Individual members of friendship clusters, non-attached floaters, connectors, and their associates whether in one or several subsystems engage in activities of common interest and perceived mutual benefit. Communication occurs between students because they apparently understand and approve the behavior of their associates and friends. This means that certain behaviors have acquired the meaning or value of "appropriateness" through a prior process of students evaluating elements of behavior and extracting those considered by consensus to have value and therefore meaning according to the requirements of the situation. These behavioral variations found within distinctive activities in specific territories under particular situations are maintained and reaffirmed daily by students through appropriate and therefore meaningful communication. Those who behave inappropriately are excluded whether black or white, male or female. Appropriate behavior in situations is the basis of trust, the knowledge of which is acquired over time. Many students view the behavior of other students as incomprehensible and in withdrawing prevent both conflict and peaceful exchange. Part of this knowledge consists of categorical typing of students. (6) Some attention should be directed to the evaluative system which white seniors use for prestige rankings. Interviews with white students, predominately seniors, established their general agreement about the white evaluative system and almost all of them defined it similarly. They noted that prestige was what the teachers, administrators and parents thought it should be. Among whites, prestige was given legitimacy by the white middle or upper middle class professional and

Table No. 1

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE INTRAMURAL PROGRAM

Type of Team Sponsor	Percent Senior on Team; Grade of Non-Senior Team Members	Male or Female Team	Membership by Individual Number and Informal Cluster of Affiliation
	BASKETBALL		
Language Club	60%; 11th	M	[74] [23] [11] [7] [A] [A] [K] [J]
---	25%; 11th	M	[35] [69] [B] [D]
---	15%; all grades	M	[48] [B]
---	80%; 11th	M	[17] [42] [9] [10] [82] [A] [C] [C] [C] [A]
Language Club	15%; all grades	F	(14) (M)
---	25%; all grades	F	(47) (57) (F) (F)
Drama Club	70%; 11th	F	(13) (14) (48) (8) (M) (M) (E) --
Language Club	25%; all grades	F	(5) --
Language Club	10%; all grades	M	[67] --
---	100%	F	(61) (25) (76) (57) (90) (49) (34) (A) (A) -- (B) — (B) (A)
Language Club	10%; 9th and 10th	F	(46) --
Language Club	10%; all grades	F	(65) (N)
---	85%; 11th	F	(80) (33) (81) (1) (68) (C) (C) (D) — (Q)

Table No. 1 - Cont'd.

PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE INTRAMURAL PROGRAM

Type of Team Sponsor	Percent Seniors on Team; Grade of Non-Senior Team Members	Male or Female Team	Members by Individual Number nd Informal Cluster of Affiliation
	FOOTBALL		
Language Club	60%; 11th	M	[23] [74] [7] [11] [83] [A_1] [A_1] [J] [K] [G]
---	80%; 11th	M	[17] [42] [10] [28] [9] [82] [73] [A] [C] [C] [G] [G] [C] [A]
---	50%; 10th and 11th	F	(33) (80) (81) (1) (29) (C) (C) (D) — —
	FOOTBALL AND BASKETBALL		
Band	20%; all grades	M	[45] [2] [D] [D]
Drama Club	35%; 10th and 11th	M	[50] [48] [36] [F] [B] [E]
---	15%; 11th	M	[24] [I]
---	85%; 11th	M	[35] [33] [44] [66] [58] [54] [B] [L] — [J] [L] [L]

--- = Not sponsored by formal organization
-- = Not a regular member of one informal friendship cluster
[ ] = Male
( ) = Female

managerial community from which many white students, parents, and administrators and teachers derived. The elements of prestige included: (a) high verbal ability and logical, critical thinking in and out of the classroom, intellectual superiority; (b) family affluence, value and location of residence; (c) fashionable clothes, physical attractiveness, and; (d) type and degree of connections with various clusters and age and status of other informal cluster members of one's informal cluster of identification. In summary, the most prestigious senior white student, male or female, was middle or upper middle class, from professional or managerial backgrounds, college preparatory, intellectually inclined, non-hippy, a good to excellent student, and had connections and created reciprocating interactions with other informal clusters, particularly senior ones. Those students who are "elites" exhibit a greater number of these dimensions of prestige. They establish the "tone" of the school and represent what Forrest Park is believed to be. (7) Perhaps the most astounding conclusion of all is the inclusiveness, persistency and continuity of; (a) student friendship clusters, and (b) the extent to which members of these friendship clusters, rich in behavioral variations, coalesce into the patterned social arrangements in the subsystems. This examination of the student system shows the extent to which smooth operation of a school is dependent upon these regularized relationships.

A

17-elite/straight[1], college prep., company owner-old city elite, 3.5, 492, MAT, NHS, Student Government, baseball, intramurals.

73-elite/straight, college prep., Dean Univ., 3.9, 483, MAT, NHS, Student Government, baseball, intramurals, ICC.

A_1

23-elite/sophisticate, college prep., company owner, old city elite, 2.5, 403, intramurals.

74-elite/sophisticate, college prep., doctor-old city elite, 3.7, 461, MAT, NHS, tennis, bi-racial, French, intramurals, ICC.

B

1-Straight/sports, college prep., professor, 3.6, 437, MAT, NHS, Student Government, Latin, French, ICC.

35-Straight/mixed[2], ?, insurance, 3.3, 300, chorus, ensemble, German, Spanish, baseball, intramurals, Senior Cabinet.

48-Straight/mixed, college prep., Dean Univ., 3.5, 481, chorus, ensemble, intramurals, Senior Cabinet.

53-sophisticate/hippy, college prep., professor, 3.6, 437, MAT, NHS, Student Government, Latin, French, ICC.

61-Straight/mixed, college prep., owns business, 3.8, 466, MAT, NHS, ICC, Student Government.

B_1

8-Straight/mixed, college prep., Army Retired, 3.6, 473, MAT, NHS, Senior Cabinet.

32-Straight/mixed, college prep., real estate, 3.5, 449, MAT.

C

9-Straight/sports, college prep., teacher, 3.7, 433, NHS, intramurals.

10-Straight/sports/loner, college prep., managerial, teacher, 2.3, 451, baseball, intramurals.

42-Straight/sports, college prep., professor, 3.1, 435, intramurals.

75-Straight/sports, ?, banker, ?, 219, co-editor annual, golf.

82-Straight/sports, ?, teacher, 2.3, 423, Spanish, intramurals, annual, German, Pep, ICC.

MALE CLUSTERS A, B, and C

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[1] The student's categorical designation is the first item indicated. These categries are: (1) Straight, (2) elite, (3) hippy, (4) sophisticate, (5) business, (6) isolate, and (7) unacceptable. Remaining items indicate variations in orientation within the theme of the basic category.

[2] The mixed category indicates connection to unusual combinations of activities.

D_1

2-Straight/band, college prep., accountant, 3.9, 488, MAT, NHS, band, Campus Life, intramurals.

49-Straight/band, college prep., professor, 3.9, 481, MAT, NHS, band.

77-Straight/sophisticate/band, college prep., minister, 3.8, 492, MAT, NHS, band.

79-Straight/band, college prep., professor, 3.6, 489, NHS, MAT, ICC, Chorus, band.

D_2

29-Straight/band, college prep., professor, 3.4, 490, band.

45-Straight/band, ?, engineer, 3.1, 370, band, intramurals.

D_3

22-Straight, ?, managerial, 2.2, 388, --.

84-Straight, ?, professor, 2.5, 397, science.

88-Straight, ?, real estate, 2.7, 363, --.

D_4

39-Straight, ?, counselor, 2.6, 473, --.

62-Straight, college prep., doctor, 3.3, 478, MAT.

19-Straight, ?, post office, 3.5, 393, NHS.

52-Straight, ?, telephone company, 3.3, 473, --.

69-Straight, ?, minister, 2.4, 321, intramurals.

E

36-Straight/mixed, college prep., managerial, technician, 3.1, 489, newspaper, tennis, intramurals.

60-Straight/mixed, college prep., Dean, 3.4, 472, MAT, NHS, tennis, intramurals, Senior Cabinet.

F

12-Straight/drama/band, college prep., ?, 3.1, 467, --.

38-Straight/drama, ?, salesman, 3.1, 320, —.

50-Straight/drama, artistic, salesman, 2.5, 193, Pep, drama, Intramurals.

76-Straight/band/chorus, college prep., secretary, 3.1, 428, drama, chorus, band, Campus Life.

78-Straight/band, college prep., counselor, 3.5, 397, MAT, NHS, band.

MALE CLUSTERS D, E, and F

G

6-elite/hippy/sophisticate, ?, professor, 3.3, 426, --.

15-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., engineer, teacher, 3.2, 461, Senior Cabinet.

18-elite/sophisticate, college prep., psychiatrist, 2.9, 470, Student Government Cabinet.

28-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., advisor, 3.0, 399, French, intramurals.

47-elite/hippy/sophisticate, college prep., owns farm, 3.7, 455, MAT, NHS, annual, baseball.

63-Sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.2, 469, Spanish.

65-Sophisticate, college prep., professor, 2.9, 373, --.

83-elite/sophisticate, college prep., salesman, 3.1, 431, NHS, German, intramurals.

H

57-Hippy, ?, fieldman, receptionist, 2.3, --, --.

64-elite/sophisticate/hippy, college prep., doctor, 2.3, 480, Student Government.

71-Hippy/sophisticate, general & college prep., owns company, secretary, 3.4, 447, --.

I

13-Hippy, ?, owns store, 1.6, --, --.

20-Hippy, general, ?, 0.8, --, --.

21-Hippy, general, laboratory technician, waitress, 0.8, 175, --.

25-Hippy, ?, unskilled, 2.2, 195, intramurals.

26-Hippy, ?, manager, 2.0, 136, --.

34-Hippy, general, ?, 1.2, --, --.

40-Hippy/sophisticate, ?, professor, 2.5, 391, --.

43-Hippy, ?, accountant, 1.8, 209, --.

70-Hippy, ?, ?, 1.7, --, --.

89-Hippy, general, professor, 1.2, --, --.

I_1

24-Hippy, ?, professor, 2.8, 327, intramurals.

37-Hippy, general, skilled, 2.4, 281, --.

55-Hippy, general, dealer, 1.5, 64, --.

MALE CLUSTERS G, H, and I

J

7-Straight/sports, college prep., professor, 2.3, 366, tennis, French, intramurals.

31-Straight/sports, college prep., salesman, 2.8, 445, swimming.

66-Straight/sports, college prep., company owner, 3.5, 445, football, letterman club, MAT, Senior Cabinet, intramurals.

72-Straight/sports, ?, ?, 3.4, ?, MAT, NHS.

86-Straight/sports, junior college prep., salesman, 2.8, 282, football, letterman club, German, swimming.

K

11-Straight/redneck/football, college prep., engineer, 3.0, 430, football, track, letterman club, intramurals.

14-Straight/redneck/football, college prep., rehab. counselor, secretary, 2.6, 384, football, letterman club.

16-Hippy/sports, ?, contractor, 2.8, 364, football, letterman club.

30-Straight/track, college prep., professor, 2.9, 406, track.

L

56-Hippy, general, merchant, ?, 184, --.

58-Hippy, general, barber, 2.1, 101, --.

67-Straight/redneck, ?, postal clerk, secretary, 2.4, 321, --.

81-Hippy/sophisticate, ?, professor, 2.2, 423, --.

L_1

3-Hippy/sophisticate/football ?, managerial, 2.8, 266, football, letterman club, baseball.

54-Hippy, ?, foreman, 2.3, 116, baseball, intramurals.

87-Straight/sports, ?, Supervisor,?, 209, baseball.

L_2

33-Hippy/sophisticate, college prep. & general, carpenter, psychology assistant, 2.5, 439, basketball, intramurals.

41-Hippy/redneck, general, owns company, 1.6, --, football, letterman club.

59-Hippy/redneck, general, public, relations, 1.9, --, --.

MALE CLUSTERS J, K, and L

M

51-Hippy/redneck, vocational, contractor, 2.2, 185, DCT.

4-Hippy, vocational, professor, 1.5, 156, DCT.

80-Hippy/redneck, ?, truck-driver, 1.2, 246, --.

ISOLATE

27-Straight/isolate, general & college prep., teacher, 1.9, 374, newspaper.

UNACCEPTABLE

68-Straight, ?, Navy, 2.1, --, Latin, Chorus, intramurals.

FLOATERS

5-Straight/band, college prep., professor, 3.0, 298, band.

44-Hippy/sophisticate, ?, comptroller, data processing, 2.5, 261, track, intramurals.

46-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., professor, 3.8, 486, NHS.

MALE CLUSTER M and FLOATERS, ISOLATE, AND UNACCEPTABLE

A

25-elite/mixed/straight, college prep. & vocational, 3.3, 402, FBLA, Senior Cabinet.

34-elite/mixed/straight, college prep. & vocational, professor, 3.3, 455, FBLA, ICC, NHS, co-editor newspaper, Spanish, intramurals.

61-elite/straight, college prep., principal, secretary, 3.8, 407, MAT NHS, chorus, intramurals, Senior Cabinet.

B

49-elite/straight, college prep., managerial, 3.6, 410, NHS, MAT, ICC, French, intramurals, Senior Cabinet.

56-elite/straight, college prep., professor, 4.0, 439, MAT NHS, French.

57-Straight/mixed, college prep. & vocational, professor, 4.0, 412, MAT, NHS, CBE, intramurals.

86-Straight/isolate, college prep., professor, 3.8, 464, MAT, NHS.

C

33-elite/straight, college prep., insurance, 3.5, 431, MAT, intramurals, Student Government Cabinet.

80-Straight, college prep., comptroller, nurse, 2.4, 339, band, intramurals.

D

81-elite/straight, college prep., principal, Sears, 3.2, 309, chorus/ensemble, majorettes, band, intramurals.

87-Straight, ?, nurse, 3.4, --, annual, band, majorettes.

94-Straight, college prep., owns shop, ?, 44, MAT, NHS, band, majorettes.

E

38-Straight/drama/band, college prep., professor, 3.9, 485, MAT, NHS, ICC, drama, band, Pep, Senior Cabinet.

48-Straight/drama, college prep., retired, secretary, 2.2, 285, Pep, drama, debate, intramurals.

54-Straight/drama, college prep., attorney, 2.5, 234, drama, French, Senior Cabinet.

58-Straight/drama, college prep., engineer, 3.3, 445, MAT, drama, German, intramurals.

FEMALE CLUSTERS A through E

F

47-Straight/drama, ?, salesman 2.9, 370, drama, Pep, intramurals.

55-Straight/drama, ?, professor, 2.3, 329, drama, chorus, intramurals.

G

60-elite/mixed/sophisticate, general & college prep., managerial, 2.7, 216, cheerleader, chorus/ensemble.

77-elite/mixed/sophisticate, general & college prep., professor, secretary, 2.9, 249, co-editor annual, ICC, cheerleader, chorus/ensemble.

H

30-Straight, vocational, managerial, 3.0, 220, CBE.

66-New student, no information available.

I

2-Hippy, ?, skilled, LPN, 1.6, 120, --.

3-Hippy, vocational, skilled, clerk, ?, --, --.

51-Hippy, ?, salesman, ?, --, --.

84-Hippy, vocational, skilled, clerk, ?, 89, DCT.

J

17-Straight/sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.5, 426, Spanish.

23-Straight/sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.4, 459, NHS, German, Latin.

27-Straight/sophisticate, college prep. & general, managerial, 3.3, 359, --.

K

19-Straight, vocational, cashier, 3.7, 268, NHS, CBE.

20-Straight, vocational, technician, 3.8, 253, NHS, CBE.

78-Straight, vocational, ?, 2.8, ?, CBE.

85-Straight, vocational, mechanic, unskilled, 2.9, 310, CBE.

FEMALE CLUSTERS F through K

L

21-Hippy, general, student, nurse, 2.3, 169, --.

22-?, ?, machinist, seamstress, 3.0, 213, annual.

31-Hippy, vocational, skilled, 3.3, 242, DCT, ICC.

M

13-Straight/drama, college prep., professor, 3.7, 424, MAT, NHS, drama, intramurals.

14-Straight/drama, college prep., engineer, 3.3, 445, MAT, drama, German, intramurals.

28-Straight, college prep., foreman, secretary, 3.3, 388, --.

52-Straight/mixed, ?, military-retired, 3.0, 185, swimming.

93-Straight, college prep., managerial, ?, 439, MAT, NHS.

N

43-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., professor & administrator, 3.3, 424, NHS, Student Government Cabinet.

65-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., teacher, 3.1, 333, Student Government Cabinet, intramurals.

69-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., construction, 3.4, 390, MAT, NHS, German, tennis.

88-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., technical, ?, 439, MAT, NHS, French, Latin.

91-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., managerial, R.N., 3.4, 478, --.

O

63-Straight, vocational, auditor, 2.1, 134, CBE.

74-Straight, vocational, truck driver, 2.1, 324, CBE.

P

4-Straight/redneck, vocational, farmer, 1.4, 141, CBE.

40-Straight, vocational, lawyer, 2.0

Q

68-Straight, vocational & college prep., salesman, teacher, 3.1, --, CBE, intramurals.

92-Straight, vocational & college prep., technical, ?, 395, CBE.

FEMALE CLUSTERS L through Q

R

10-Straight, college prep., foreman, 3.2, 364, NHS.

16-Straight, college prep., doctor, 3.4, 426, NHS.

32-Straight, college prep., editor, 3.6, 355, MAT, NHS.

S

53-Straight, vocational, skilled, clerk, 2.6, --, CBE.

79-Straight, vocational, student (mother), 1.9, 272, CBE.

T

72-Straight, vocational, pharmacist, 2.5, 290, CBE.

73-Straight, ?, pharmacist, 3.2, 289, --.

U

6-Straight/mixed, vocational, technical, 3.4, 323, CBE.

42-Sophisticate, college prep., attorney, 3.8, 448, chorus/ensemble.

V

37-Straight, college prep., professor, 3.5, 331, NHS.

41-Straight, college prep., professor, 3.4, 360, --.

W

26-Straight/sophisticate, college prep., Coach-Univ., 3.4, 334, NHS, Spanish, Senior Cabinet.

50-Straight/sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.0, 354, Student Government Cabinet, RapAround, Senior Class Cabinet.

X

44-Straight, college prep., salesman, 3.5, 305, NHS, Spanish.

59-Straight, college prep., professor, 3.6, 417, MAT, NHS, Spanish.

Y

11-Straight, college prep., engineer, librarian, 3.5, 312, NHS.

75-Straight, college prep., Dean-Univ., 3.8, 390, NHS.

FEMALE CLUSTERS R through Y

1-Straight, ?, fireman, teacher, 2.8, 84, --.

5-Straight, college prep., managerial, 3.0, 234, German, Spanish, band, intramurals.

7-Straight/isolate, vocational, salesman, saleslady, 3.1, 153, CBE.

8-elite/mixed/straight, college prep., ROTC-Univ., 3.8, 363, MAT, NHS, intramurals.

9-Straight, vocational, ?, 2.6, 320, CBE.

12-Straight, vocational, technical, researcher, 2.3, 364, CBE.

15-Straight/mixed, college prep., contractor, 2.4, --, --.

18-Straight/mixed, college prep. & general, city manager, 2.5, 339, Pres.-FBLA, Student Government Cabinet.

24-Straight/sophisticate, psychiatrist, 3.4, 325, NHS.

29-elite/mixed/straight, professor, teacher, 2.8, 346, intramurals.

35-Straight/drama, ?, service, ?, ?, --.

36-elite/mixed/sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.0, 408, --.

39-Straight, college prep., professor, 3.6, 326, NHS.

45-Straight, vocational, skilled, 3.4, 271, CBE, ICC.

46-Straight, college prep., professor, 3.7, 488, French, drama, intramurals.

FEMALE FLOATERS

62-elite/mixed/straight, ?, professor, 2.8, --, --.

64-Straight, college prep., teacher, secretary, ?, 394, MAT.

67-Sophisticate/hippy, college prep., Dean-Univ., 3.2, 466, NHS.

70-Straight/drama, ?, real estate, saleslady, 2.5, 234, --.

71-Straight/mixed, ?, accountant, 2.7, 243, --.

76-Straight/mixed, college prep., engineer, teacher, 3.4, 369, MAT, French, chorus, tennis, intramurals.

82-Straight, ?, managerial, teacher, 1.7, 298, --.

83-Straight/sophisticate, ?, professor, ?, 208, --.

89-Straight, college prep., principal, ?, 472, MAT, NHS, band, intramurals.

90-elite/mixed/sophisticate, college prep., professor, 3.8, 471, NHS, MAT, French, Student Government Cabinet, intramurals.

FEMALE FLOATERS (cont'd.)

IX

THE RACIAL DIMENSION OF ATHLETICS

The athletic programs at both Forrest Park and Palmetto high schools included all major sports for males. Both schools also offered golf and weight lifting and Forrest Park fielded co-ed tennis and swimming teams in addition. Track was the only field sport for females.

Several aspects of the athletic program were directly significant for the research objectives. These included the differential participation of whites and blacks in various types of sports; the nature of black-white relationship in team versus individual performance events; the racial composition of the coaching staff and the effect of racial attributes on coaches or students; the role of auxiliary groups such as cheerleaders, majorettes, and band; and the behavior of families and spectators at athletic events. Data were collected from all sports to give answers to the problems posed above. In addition, an in-depth study of the coaching staff and football team was conducted at Forrest Park high school.

Distribution of student participation by race shows that blacks are over-represented proportionately in football and basketball, under-represented in baseball and non-participants in golf (with one exception), tennis, and swimming. Several factors may account for these differentials but at least in the major sports the race of the head coach seems not to have influenced the percentages. The best evidence available indicated that in football, as in other sports, the most qualified individual in the coaches' judgment was selected for first team assignment. Occasional reports of grumbling on the part of players were collected but these seem to have been normal griping. There may well have been, however, some racial overtones among players in competition for positions on the first team or squad. If so, peer group influence kept the situation under control.

Race was a factor in the composition of cheerleaders and majorettes. Official efforts were made to ensure that representation was equally divided at Palmetto and that blacks were included at Forrest Park. This has been reported on in the section of extracurricular activities.

School officials have much less control over the extent of parent participation in athletic programs and observation established that at Forrest Park white parents held a virtual monopoly of the Athletic Association and at Palmetto active members were overwhelmingly white. The annual athletic awards banquet, when parents of players are urged to attend, revealed a predominant participation by whites and voluntary racial separation in the seating pattern at the banquet.

The amount and variety of community support was calculated by observation at all football games and a large sample of other intermural sports events. Football was the only activity which drew any appreciable number of spectators beyond the student body. Seating pattern by age, race, and sex was mapped and regularities were consistent. Adults, including faculty, grouped themselves separately from students and tended to be racially clustered. Students were also grouped on the basis of several factors. The enthusiastic team supporters were huddled in a compact group. Those from Palmetto high being seated in front of their band. Other students arrived in single or cross-sex friendship groups which were maintained during the course of the game.

The field notes report of the spectator seating pattern at a Palmetto high school football game reproduced below is illustrative of the general pattern.

> The sections on either side of the fifty yard line were predominately white including the middle aged parents of high school players and band members and in some instances their smaller children, younger couples almost predominately white and a scattering in the lower rows on either side of this central line of some mature blacks. The upper rows were occupied by white students gathered in friendship clusters. Generally as one moved to the north and particularly after the forty yard line the proportion of spectators became increasingly black until the section between the forty and the thirty yard line contained hardly any whites at all. Beyond this there was only a scattering of individuals until one reached the end oval where there were some small clusters of young blacks present. Moving to the south from the fifty yard line the first ten yards to about the forty yard line was largely white until we come to the forty yard line which was an effective line separating whites and blacks. The Palmetto band sat between the thirty and forty yard stripes above the middle segment of the stadium. Just in front of them sat a tight cluster of an estimated hundred to two hundred students, mostly females, and in front of them sat a mixture of blacks with a few whites. On the extreme south there was a few rows of seats occupied with mixed black and white middle aged parents who had been the escorts of the players at the beginning of the game.

The in-depth study of the football team at Forrest Park has already been mentioned. The project was fortunate in securing the services of an ex-football player who combined technical and social skills. The brief report of his study states in detail and with theoretical interpretation his findings concerning the racial aspect.

TALENT, TASK ORIENTATION AND RITUAL IN A HIGH SCHOOL FOOTBALL PROGRAM

Introduction:

The purpose of this segment of the research was to focus on the football program at Forrest Park High School as an example of extra-curricular life. The goal of this specific study was to assess the nature of the interaction of black and white participants in this special activity, and relate it to the general patterns of black-white interaction observed elsewhere in the school.

In order to accomplish this a three pronged research methodology was implemented. This researcher observed practice sessions, pep rallies and football games from September to December. I also joined the Athletic Association and participated in its bi-weekly meetings and special activities. In addition, informal interviews were conducted with the coaches, teachers, administrators, players, students and parents.

As you will recall Forrest Park is a new school and 1972 was the first year they fielded a varsity team. The football team for 1972 had 34 white and 13 black players. This 72 to 28 percent ratio reflects a slightly greater participation of blacks than the composition of the general student body.

The Head Coach at Forrest Park is Jason Shepherd. Shepherd coached at all black Booker T. Washington High School until it was closed at the time of total desegregation. Prior to his current assignment, Shepherd had been an extremely successful coach, losing only twelve games in nine years. The second in command is the white defensive line coach. Of the other three assistant coaches, one is black and two are white.

Black/White Interactions in a Football Setting:

Different behavior patterns were observed among members of the football team than appeared to exist among the general student body at Forrest Park High School. Our initial impression was that black and white football players tended to interact freely, with little regard to race or racial associations. However, it was soon evident that any variations on the general behavior patterns of the student population pertained only to the time and space grids of football practices, games and related events.

If the instances of black/white interaction are examined within the general framework of the football program at Forrest Park High, certain patterns emerge which reveal the nature of the system and suggest two explanatory hypotheses. First, task orientation fosters a restructuring of attitudes and interaction rates with talent as a primary social criteria. Secondly, the achievement of a new value code is promoted by ritualized behavior. Examples from daily practice and related events will be used to illustrate these points.

The practice field at Forrest Park is about 300 yards from the gym locker rooms where the players dress out (change into their practice uniforms) each day before practice. Players can be observed daily leaving the gym locker rooms singly, in pairs, or in small groups and walking to the field to await the start of practice. At such times 17 to 33 percent of the white players and 25 to 36 percent of the black players have walked to the field in racially mixed pairs or groups. Once on the field, the players normally stand or kneel in small groups talking, tossing a football or engaging in horse play. These groups are often racially mixed in composition, with both blacks and whites initiating interactions.

Peer pressure, after the start of practice operates at a very high level. Players will indicate praise and approval for a good performance by a fellow team mate, or verbally chastise a player for a poor performance, especially if it is judged to result from a lack of effort. Players of both races participated in these interactions with about equal frequency.

Black/white interaction among football players extends off the field to football related events, though perhaps to a lesser degree. At every pep rally, one or more white players has been observed standing with several black players in the midst of a crowd of black students in the school's mall.

On the bus trip to the last game of the season, with the choice of seats open, the following pairs were observed sitting together: nine white/white; three black/black; four black/white; and one white sat alone. Thus 18% of the whites and 40% of the blacks, or 24% of all players, chose to sit with a teammate of a different race. It should be noted that the players were in coats and ties, not pads and uniforms, and that the trip was one of 3 hours for a game to be played the following night. Thus it might be expected that individuals would choose to sit with friends during this lengthy outing.

It should not be supposed that the general patterns described above were always observed, or that they ever pertained to all of the individual players. In pre-practice situations some racial separation was always evident. And there were about 6 or 7 whites who were never observed freely choosing to interact with blacks. Similarly there were some blacks who never initiated interactions with whites.

For example, on two occasions involving different individuals, a white player was observed emerging almost simultaneously from the gym door with a black player; both were headed for the practice field. Realizing that they were close enough for normal interaction to occur, the white player then started running ahead of the black - in an obvious effort to avoid interaction. As soon as he was a short distance ahead of the black, the white player slowed down in order to walk to the practice field.

Furthermore, blacks and whites were seldom seen playing catch together while waiting for the start of practice. Once when clean practice jerseys were distributed to players on the field during practice, no black helped a white, nor did a white help a black, to pull the new jersey down over the back of another's shoulder pads. Finally, very little, if any, black/white interaction occurs in social situations off the field even among football players.

It is our hypothesis that orientation towards specific goal achievement (i.e. winning football games) fosters a restructuring of attitudes and interaction rates. Specific abilities become the primary social criteria, while race is de-emphasized. This talent-based social structuring is functional only within the boundaries of the task-oriented universe; more traditional patterns of organization continue to pertain in other spheres.

Two examples will help show the effect of "talent and task" in specific situations. During one afternoon's practice, 10 linemen (5 black and 5 white) were sent by a coach to drill on the 7-man sled. No coach went to direct or supervise these players. The players organized themselves, and began a rotating hit-and-slide drill. After some minutes, they took a break with all of the players kneeling or standing in two groups. One group was composed of three blacks and two whites, and had a black dominating the interaction. The other group had three whites and two blacks with a white initiating the interaction. A white player had started the first drill, but several players, both black and white, had asserted themselves, and this white had lost dominance. Leadership was achieved during the process of the drill without regard to race.

On another occasion, a new exercise to be used during pre-game calisthenics was demonstrated to the players. The players then formed two separate circles of 20 players each to practice the exercise. Players were required to pair off and assist each other in the performance of the exercise. In one circle the coach in charge directed the players to pair off with the player immediately to the right, for the sake of uniformity, so the drill would look sharp when performed during the pre-game warm-ups. This resulted in 4 white/white pairs, 1 black/black pair and 5 mixed black/white pairs. In the other circle there was no coach present to direct the players, and they paired off with buddies. This resulted in 5 all white pairs, 3 all black pairs and only 2 mixed black/white pairs. Thus instead of 50 percent black/white mixing, only 20 percent occurred.

The importance of this illustration is that it is in the very nature of the coach-directed organization of football practice and other related events, that choice of association is infrequent. Players are separated by position (lineman, offensive backs, defensive backs, etc.) and ability, or randomly -- but never racially.

Our second hypothesis is that the achievement of a new value code appropriate to the efficient functioning of this talent-based, task-oriented system is promoted by ritualized behavior. Rites of intensification validate both the values inherent in the goal (i.e. a successful football program) and the worth of expending the necessary energies to achieve the goal. Rites of passage are essential for unifying and channeling individual energies. Having endured the common rites of passage, football players, both black and white, surrender some personal identity (including blackness and whiteness) in exchange for team membership.

In investigating football, there are many levels of ritual to examine. We shall focus very briefly on two. Every event in the sequence which defines daily practice is marked with ritual. Pre-practice activities, calisthenics, drills and scrimmages follow the same routine on a weekly basis.

The patterning is so great and the level of anticipation on the part of the players so high that much coach-player communication is non-verbal. A single word, a nod, or a pointing finger is enough to send the players running to a given position, falling into a set formation, or commencing rather complex drills. A passage from the field notes for one afternoon's practice will illustrate this.

> Immediately after calisthenics, the players were divided into three groups by Coach Shepherd. The kicking and receiving specialists went to the east end of the field. A second group of players, the offensive ends, had moved to the north sidelines and were running passing drills in the west half of the field. A third group, composed of linemen, was down in the west end zone hitting the blocking sled. An injured lineman stood on the sled while the others hit the sled in pairs; there was no coach observing this group's drill.
>
> At 3:50, Coach Shepherd raised a clenched fist into the air; he said nothing. Within sixty seconds every player on the field had run, yelling all the way, to midfield where Shepherd and the other coaches were standing. Though there were no audible directions all of the players fell into a kneeling formation of roughly six rows with seven or eight players to a row. This formation is used once or twice during each practice, and generally, even though there are no assigned or fixed position, players tend to kneel in more or less the same order in relation to the other players. The ordering of the players is based on seniority and ability -- i.e. starters, second string, scrubs -- and definitely is not based on race or friendship. The front row, for example, is usually the same. All are seniors and starters. Coach Shepherd faced the middle of the formation, sometimes pacing as he addressed them. The other coaches stood off together a few yards to the side of the formation.

The last day of practice was marked by a classic example of a rite of passage as outlined by van Gennep. This was the occasion of the Senior Ceremony, marking the last day of practice ever for the seniors as Forrest Park "Tigers".

> Parents, members of the athletic association, cheerleaders and some band members were all present. The band members played taps while the seniors ran a gauntlet of underclassmen, symbolically hitting the blocking sled at the goal posts for the last time. Then the seniors each made a farewell speech, and they were then saluted by representatives from the 11th and 10th grade players as well as by each coach. The head coach was last, and as he began to speak he broke into tears, and began hugging each player and shaking each one's hand. Most of the seniors were also crying, as were all of the cheerleaders and many parents. The seniors then formed a huddle and gave a cheer. The underclass cheered the seniors, as a parent consoled the coach who was still wiping the tears from his eyes. All of the players ran the full length of the field, and were soon joined by the coaching staff as the parents left. Practice resumed.

Change, however, hadoccurred. The seniors had passed to a new status, and all of the underclassmen had advanced to a higher level as well. A meeting of players was called after practice, not by a senior leader, but by a junior. This had not occurred previously during the entire season. Thus ritual seems to reinforce interpersonal bonds, maintain continuity, intensify commitment, strengthen community and school ties, and isolate football.

Summary:

In concluding, it should be stated that the football team existed as a special insititution within the school, exercising certain priviledges and obeying certain rules that did not necessarily apply to non-football team students. However, among team members there was a feeling of equity and fairplay. At no time were there any voiced sentiments of racial prejudice against the coaches or between the black and white players. And through the entire season no pattern of differentiated coach-player interaction -- based on race -- was detected. That is, the coaches, black and white, treated the players, black and white, in a similar manner, as individuals, with no observable behavior differences based on either the coaches' or the players' race.

The findings of the study can be summarized here as indicating that: (1) seniority and talent are the bases of the team's status systems; (2) task orientation and the use of ritualized behavior displace normal friendship groupings with team membership; and finally, (3) task and talent orientations foster a restructuring of attitudes and interaction rates emphasizing specific abilities and de-emphasizing race as a primary social criteria in the case of a high school football team.

X

FAMILY, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY

THE FAMILIES OF PALMETTO HIGH SCHOOL

Palmetto High School is situated in southeastern University City. Today this is a predominantly but not exclusively black part of the city. In fact, the two census tracts immediately surrounding the school record the black population as constituting over 75 percent and over 58 percent respectively of the total. There are, however, "islands" or pockets of white families. Just two or three miles directly east of Palmetto High School there is a large neighborhood of "blue collar" white families whose children attend Palmetto High. And, lacking sufficient white families in the vicinity to make up the requisite percentage for integration, Palmetto High School depends upon busing to achieve the 52 percent black to 48 percent white ratio among its student body. Many of the white students who attend Palmetto High School are bused from small satellite towns surrounding University City. Thus, the white students at Palmetto are apt to be rural on the one hand and the children of "blue collar" suburban parents on the other. This is almost the polar opposite of Forrest Park high school.

Southeastern University City is not the original black residential district of the city. The "original" black district was situated in "old University City" near the center of the town; it was close to the white residential area. Sometimes only a public building or railroad tracks marked the separation of the "old University City" white residential areas from the black. Yet, the old black district of University City had its own high school, Booker T. Washington High, and there were black churches and other gathering places for black people. Today, this area of the city which we have called "old University City" is still occupied by families, black and white, who have lived there for several generations; and they have been joined by university students of various ethnic and racial backgrounds.

The southeastern region of University City began to take form about 15 to 20 years ago as the predominantly black residential part of the city. Booker T. Washington High School was relocated in the southeast in the late 1950's and a new building was constructed. This was an obvious move to implement the "separate but equal" policy of the period. This led to the development of a new section of the metropolitan zone which came to be known by University City blacks as "out east". A private residential development scheme took place which offered homes to middle level income black families. We have called this Booker T. Washington Estates. Some of the most prominent black families of University City built lovely houses that rival any of those found in the upper middle class northwestern sections. Then, in the 1960's public housing, not limited to blacks but mainly occupied by them, was built in this new area of the city. Thus, blacks of a variety of economic, social, and educational levels were concentrated within this southeastern district. It is not a homogeneous black area analogous to the white northwestern section. There are several distinct black neighborhoods as well as different white neighborhoods served by Palmetto high school.

This portion of our report presents information collected from interviewing ten families from one black housing project; twenty families from Booker T. Washington Estates; ten white-blue collar families of suburban east University City; and ten families from a small satellite town which we have called Guthrie. Each of these forms is, in a sense a distinct neighborhood. The public housing project neighborhood which we shall refer to as Caroline Homes houses blacks most of whom are below the "poverty level" who have been relocated from the inner-city ghetto -- or migrated from the rural areas of the county to the city. Booker T. Washington Estates is a neighborhood of private homes with lawns and gardens. East Ridge is a white neighborhood situated just outside the city limits composed of "blue collar" white families. Their houses are often similar in architecture and upkeep to those of the black families of Booker T. Washington Estates. Finally, the small town which we have called Guthrie, is a farming community located 17 miles from University City. The population is both white and black but each "racial group" occupies a well defined area. To these people, University City is viewed as an outside, alien force capable of engulfing their small-town way of life. Neither blacks nor whites have any warm feelings or loyalty to University City, except that they often depend upon it for jobs. In this neighborhood, we interviewed white families whose children are bused each day to Palmetto high school.

The Families of Caroline Homes:

Caroline Homes is a low rental, government subsidized housing project which is administered by a private philanthropic organization. Almost all of the people who inhabit the project are black. The manager is white but others of the administrative staff are black. There has been constant friction between the administration and the residents which has been well publicized in the University City Star. According to that newspaper, after one building inspection more than a hundred building violations were discovered and the administration was ordered to correct them within a period of several months. As of December, 1973 most of these violations had theoretically been corrected but others still remain and more are certain to appear given the attitude of both the residents and the management regarding the project.

Yet it must not be thought that Caroline Homes is a slum in the sense of the ghetto housing of New York or Chicago. In fact, when the project was first built, and even potentially today, it would seem to have been a very pleasant place to live. The complex is composed of four separate red brick buildings facing upon a court yard which is about 70 yards square. The buildings are but two stories high and each contains twenty apartments which open up on a front and back corridor. The front corridor faces the courtyard and the back corridor is theoretically for service, although it is as often used for passage. Trees and shrubs were planted in the courtyard but they have not prospered and the courtyard seems barren. The back corridor which opens toward the public world seems disorderly and filled with trash; in fact, one of the major complaints of the residents has been the infrequency of garbage collection. To the casual visitor both the type of construction and the crowding of people into a relatively compact area reminds one of an American Indian Pueblo in the Southwest.

Each unit or apartment in Caroline Homes has a combined living-dining room, a kitchen, and two or three bedrooms. Each apartment is equipped with a refrigerator and an electric stove. Beyond that basic equipment, each family may furnish the apartment according to its personal taste and financial ability. However, since most of the residents have incomes below the so-called "poverty level" they have little financial latitude. In any case, the interiors of Caroline Homes apartments vary from being well decorated in a rather sophisticated manner to being almost barren of furniture. Here are two examples of the apartments of families whom were interviewed.

The first which we will call Apartment A is well furnished by contemporary standards and immaculately kept. It contains modernistic furniture with a sofa and easy chairs. There are attractive lamps in the living-dining room and a late model stereo system. The living-room area floor is covered by shag carpets. There are pictures on the wall and on the coffee table, these are photographs of the children. In the dining area, the shag carpets are of a different color and over a buffet, a piece of needle work done by the mother has been hung. The family has painted both the living and dining room area themselves in colors that blend with the furniture. One bedroom has a huge queen-size bed and a design of a headboard has been painted on the wall. The rest of the wall has been painted in a curious but attractive polka dot design. The observor felt that this was a warm and comfortable home and it gave the feeling of a close knit family.

Our second example which we called Apartment B is at the opposite end of the spectrum from the point of view of interior decoration. Apartment B has the same floor plan and the same number of rooms as Apartment A. There the similarity ends. There are no rugs. The living room furniture is supported by fruit cans. The covering of the overstuffed furniture has been frequently repaired. The chairs are straight backed and uncomfortable. There are no lamps and no pictures on the walls. There is a small television set which is usually out of order. It serves more to hold the photographs of attractive school-age children. The dining area has only a table and four chairs; these same chairs serve on occasion for the living room. The whole apartment is generally untidy. The mother of the family, who works all day for a white family in northwestern University City, complains: "I just can get dinner on the table after a long hard day of work with my 'white folks'." Obviously, the whole apartment is usually untidy.

The families who occupy Caroline Homes Apartments range in size from two to eight people. There seems to be an inordinate number of small and somewhat older school age children. While not officially listed as such, many of the families have female heads (matri-focal); that is, the male "head of family" simply appears on official records but is not present. The average income is approximately $3,000 but incomes range from $2,500 to as high as $5,000 per year. These incomes are, of course, below or only slightly higher than the "poverty level". Most of the mothers work as domestics for upper middle class families or are engaged in cleaning services at State University. Some have low paid jobs in the University's food services departments. (i.e. cafeterias, restaurants, and hospital kitchens) Some "marginals" (that is individuals with uncertain income and doubtful occupation) who live in Caroline Homes receive even lower incomes that are even more uncertain than those with regular jobs.

The families who live in Caroline Homes come from "old University City", from the rural areas of the county, and even from other nearby counties. They moved to Caroline Homes seeking to better their living conditions. In fact, most of them lived formerly in clearly substandard housing. Their former homes generally had little or no heat, no screening, poor facilities (maybe an outside privy), and few methods of communication such as telephones, television and the like. In other cases, the families represent young people from rural areas who have come to University City not for better housing but to seek education and employment. Each apartment in Caroline Homes is occupied by what we might call a "nuclear (or matrifocal) family". But there is a network of kin throughout the project. For example, one mother and her younger children occupy one apartment. Her older married children live in other units. Two or three siblings may live within the quadrangle which Caroline Homes forms. This may mean that within this limited housing project that one has ten to fifteen kin.

These families have ties that go back to their original communities. This is especially true where young men and women have moved to the city from rural zones. There is a network of kin and childhood friendship relationships within the larger residential unit. Within this network, there is constant visiting and sharing of household tasks including the care of children. It is within this network, particularly among kin, where problems are discussed and often solved. Almost any crisis will be discussed within a kinship environment. Although all of these families originated in the south of the United States some members have lived at one time or another in the north. Thus, there are members of the network who are aware of different patterns of black living. People who come from nearby rural communities will return on Sundays to attend church and visit with their country kinsmen and friends. Such kinship (and old friend) meetings include encouraging family members to enter or return to school. Consequently, several families have one or more individuals attending "adult schools", the local community college, or even State University. Compared to the upper middle class neighborhood of northwestern University City or other neighborhoods to be described later, this is a tight and unified group. They are unified by kinship and friendship and perhaps by their rather desperate economic position.

The families of Caroline Homes seem to be in basic agreement about the desegregation of schools. They believe since the court order for integration was finally implemented in 1970 in University City, the education of their children has deteriorated. Before that date, their children walked to a nearby all-black elementary school. The black high school, Booker T. Washington, of which they were proud and to which many students could walk was also close by. Moreover, the teachers in the elementary schools and in the high school were permanent and they lived in the black community. They knew the teachers personally. Now, since massive cross-county busing has been instituted to achieve racial balance in the schools, the parents feel that they have lost touch with the schools, particularly with the administrators and teachers. In many instances, parents do not know who teaches their children. Most parents have never visited Palmetto High School, except upon request from a school official. (This generally means "trouble"). Problems of transportation, a general attitude of estrangement, and a distrust of the "new" high school keep these parents away. Whenever the high school attempts to communicate with them, it is "bad". As one parent commented (and seemed to sum up general opinion): "They act like they are always right and you are always wrong. There is nothing good to say about our children." Another parent complained: "The school is too far; and we have no car." This same mother added: "I don't know any of the teachers. They had no business moving the schools. I don't like what happened to our (Booker T.) Washington High."

Actually, there seems to be very little conversation among families at Caroline Homes about the schools. All of high school age young people who live in Caroline Homes attend Palmetto High. Since they live in the same housing complex, students can easily visit one another and they often chat in the corridors and in the courtyard. They trade personal gossip and talk of social activities. Parents say that they seldom hear their children discuss the teachers at Palmetto but when pushed on the subject one parent concluded that students classify their teachers in four categories, namely "black"; "white"; "good"; and "bad".

The apparent lack of involvement of the parents living in Caroline Homes in the school seems to derive, in several ways, from integration. Several parents claimed that their children have "changed" since the schools were integrated. One mother, for example, her feelings strongly expressed and emphasized by gesture and emotion in her voice complained that "they (the white authorities) are taking everything away from the black community. It (integration) is a game where someone (whites) wants you to think you are getting an equal education, but in fact little learning is actually taking place." Several parents expressed worries as to whether or not their children were learning anything and doubted whether or not the teachers were teaching anything. As one parent put it succinctly: "Forget about integration. Education, jobs, money, and clear heads are what blacks need." Most parents seemed to have more faith in the now defunct Booker T. Washington high school than in the new Palmetto high school.

Many parents find the school system down right confusing. One mother told us that one of her children could not read. (The age of the child is not clear) When she went to the school seeking help, she was told "Call Mr. X, this office does not handle that problem." She became disgusted with the schools. "Yet", she said, "whites have the nerve to say that blacks are bringing down the quality of education in the school system." She concluded: "Integration is a stupid idea that will never work in America. I don't think that integration is a worthwhile experience for anyone -- white or black. It is bad for our children because confusion hits them at such an early age."

Still another parent stated that whites try very hard to "label" black children. She reported that her child had drawn some straight lines on a paper and the teacher thought that the child was mentally disturbed. Then, several people from the school system were called to "evaluate" the child. She was terribly upset by the comments on the child given to her by these "experts". She said that she refused to believe any of the "crap" and she concluded that whites wanted to make blacks "non-functional". We did not learn which test this child was given nor what the teacher and the "experts" told this mother which so upset her. There is obviously very poor communication between the black families of Caroline Homes and the school system and very little understanding of their problems.

Many parents who were interviewed at Caroline Homes admitted that the new facilities such as carpets, air conditioning, the new building and the like at Palmetto high school were excellent. But they constantly returned to one theme -- their children were not learning. The training does not prepare a black child for study at the university nor does it prepare a child for technical and vocational skills. In other words, "neither will our children get good jobs nor will they get into college." They feel that all sorts of "special classes" with special purposes and designs have sprung up after integration aimed mainly at separating black from white students. The so-called "social adjustment" type classes located both on and off campus, are a direct outgrowth of integration. If we can paraphrase a thought repeated over and over again by parents: "Our children are going to have a hard time."

Some black parents stated that their children are beginning to become as "lazy and shiftless" as white children. These parents said that in the past, "blacks inherited books and other school materials from whites after the whites had abandoned them as 'no good'. Then, the blacks took these left-overs and learned." They remembered that interpersonal contacts with whites were minimal in the past and it was "healthy" because blacks did not have to become closely involved with whites in the schools. "Whites have forked tongues and are deceitful", said one parent. In brief, the black parents of Caroline Homes whom we interviewed have strong feelings about the plight of their children since the integration of schools. They expressed emotions ranging from disgust and anger to deep concern. In almost all instances, parents concluded that blacks will have a hard time in the future as a result of their lack of knowledge and the interpersonal anguish which they are being forced to endure in integrated schools.

The Black Families of Booker T. Washington Estates:

As stated earlier, Booker T. Washington Estates is a large residential area in southeastern University City of individually owned homes occupied by black families. These houses were built by a local contractor and then sold to the individual families. Many of them must have sold originally (i.e. about 10 years ago) for $12,000 to $15,000 but they are now evaluated and resold at prices that range from $20,000 to $30,000. The lots on which they are built average about 50 by 150 feet but some are larger. Most of these houses are built of concrete block but others are constructed of red brick. Such houses typically have a living room, dining room, kitchen, sometimes a recreation room, one or two bathrooms, and from two to four bedrooms. Now all of the public services such as electricity, telephone, sewerage, gas, and garbage collection provided by University City are available to Booker T. Washington Estates. Most of the streets are paved but typical of University City there are still some unpaved streets. The lawns are well taken care of and owners have landscaped their yards with bushes and flower beds. Booker T. Washington Estates resembles other recently built middle class residential districts in the United States.

The interior of two homes in Booker T. Washington Estates will be described in order to better understand the style of life in this neighborhood. In the first house, the floors were highly polished. The living room furniture was relatively new, in modern style, and in excellent condition. A rather beautiful reproduction of a landscape painting was hung on one wall. A Bible was displayed on the living room table. The dining room, and the three bedrooms were equally well furnished. The kitchen was especially well decorated. It had an "avocado-colored" stove and refrigerator. The floors were clean and shiny. On the walls, there were beige colored "What-nots" containing a variety of objects. The whole house gave the impression of total order and cleanliness. In the second house, the interior was clean and the floors polished. The living room, however, was almost barren of furniture and the kitchen had only the essential equipment. There were clean curtains in the living room and in the dining room but the owners said that they were old and would be replaced as soon as they were financially able. They also hoped soon to be able to buy much needed furniture for other rooms in their home. Within both homes (as well as other homes visited), an assortment of reading matter was visible. Most books were by black authors and the magazines were Essence, Jet Magazine, Ebony, and the like. They also subscribed to the University City Star.

The size of family households in these Booker T. Washington Estates varies greatly. In the families which we interviewed the number of children ranged from one to eight and their ages from six to nineteen years of age. But such households also include grandparents and sometimes grandchildren. Grandmothers live permanently in two of the twenty households and in another the grandparents divide their time living first with one child's family and then with another but within the same neighborhood. In three of the families, grandchildren lived with their grandparents. The household composition is decidely more extended than in the upper-middle class households of northwestern University City. And, as we shall see, relatives come and go visiting for a time and helping out; for these people have many relatives not only in University City but in the small towns and rural areas nearby.

In order to maintain the middle income standard of living prevalent in Booker T. Washington Estates, there generally must be more than one wage earner in the family and the maintenance of the home calls for considerable cooperation from the children. Generally, both the father and the mother work full time outside the home. The women are nurses, teachers, nurses aides, secretaries and clerks, and even cooks. The men usually have two jobs. For example, a man may be self employed as a plumber or brick mason during the day and hold down a job with one of the public institutions (i.e. State University or a hospital) at night; or he may take a job with the university during business hours and work for a private business at night. Since both parents are sometimes away from home at the same time, their high school age children are often called upon to assume household duties after school such as cleaning the house, taking care of younger siblings, and even cooking the evening meal. A few have after school jobs and there are, of course, some who "just ride bicycles or watch television". Parents worry about unoccupied teenagers and they count on relatives and friendly neighborhood to keep an eye on them.

Most of the families who live in Booker T. Washington Estates are people who were born in University City or in surrounding small towns. A few have come to University City from other southern states. They maintain close ties with the nearby rural communities from which they came; the city kin frequently visit their country or small town kinsmen over weekends. Although many families in Booker T. Washington Estates belong to urban churches, there are several churches in the district, many have maintained their membership in the rural or small town churches to which their extended kin belong. If their jobs permit, they will return to their "home" church even for mid-week Prayer Meetings and for church business meetings since some of the are church Elders. The majority of those families whom we interviewed seemed to be Baptists, several were Methodists, and there was at least one family who belongs to the Holiness Church. It should be noted that most belong to well established religious denominations and their Church functions as a central nexus of their social life.

Because these families have been established in University City for many years or have migrated from a nearby locality, they tend to have a rather large number of kin both in the city or in the surrounding countryside. Our interviews unfortunately did not include genealogies (any follow-up research most certainly should). But when our interviewers asked to whom they would turn in case of a family crisis involving illness, financial problems, or the like, they consistently referred to relatives. "I would go first to my father and if he could not help I would look to my husband's folks", one woman stated. They frequently mentioned cousins living in Booker T. Washington Estates, in other parts of the city, or in nearby small towns.

Although there has been considerable black migration to larger cities and to the northern United States it is also clear that a large local network of kin is still active and socially and financially important within this segment of the University City population. This impression is consistent with what we know about black families in University City from a variety of sources. One black patriarch whom we shall call Mr. Jones has lived in and near University City for three generations; he has six siblings four of whom (one sister and three brothers) are still alive and have established families. He is a gardener and owns considerable valuable acreage just outside the city. He has twenty eight grandchildren. Mr. Jones' complete genealogy would show that he has well over a hundred relatives in the University City area.

Before the redistribution of students based on the court order of 1970, the high school students of this black residential neighborhood attended Booker T. Washington high school which was located only a few blocks away from almost any home. It must be remembered that it was closed and re-opened as a training center. The high school students living in Booker T. Washington Estates were transferred to the newly built Palmetto High School which is located at least three or four miles away depending upon the location of one's home. Thus, all of the high school students must depend upon buses -- or private means of transportation. Almost all of the children of the families we interviewed actually use the school buses. It is a long bicycle ride, few families have more than one car, and parents are too busy to provide rides for their children to and from school. The parents told us that in the past they were involved and interested in Booker T. Washington High School. They professed to know the teachers and they were interested in school activities -- in the school band, the sports events, and the like. From our interviews, there is no doubt but that Booker T. Washington was a community high school. Most of the parents complained that when it was closed something was taken away from the black community. Since their children are now bused "out of the community", there is a lack of interest, even indifference, toward the new school.

Few parents reported visiting Palmetto high school. A few said that they did make an effort to attend school activities when their children were directly involved. The excuses they offered for remaining uninvolved with the school included: (1) they had to work during school hours; (2) they felt strange in the new school; and (3) they "did not want to get involved with those people". They feel that their children should be able to take care of themselves. When asked why he did not attend school activities, one father stated quite bluntly "dealing with whites on my job is enough." An articulate parent expressed a theme that appears several times in our interviews: "I better not have to go out there (to Palmetto High school) for anything. I teach my children how to get along with people. I tell them what I have to do on my job in order to get along with whites and blacks. Because in this world you have to fight two battles and that is getting along with your own kind and getting along with whites. I tell them (the children) to don't let anyone push you around and don't bother anyone unless they bother you. Let people know how to slide with you in the beginning."

It should be obvious that the parents of Palmetto high school students are not entirely happy with integration. In fact during our interviews, the conversation went smoothly as a rule until this subject was introduced. Then, a considerable amount of tension and non-verbal behavior ranging in the words of one interviewer "from tense muscular expressions to almost a state of depression." Parents are reported to have "smoked, drunk a beer, pointed their fingers, raised their voices, while others lowered their voices." On one occasion, "one parent (was reported) almost became speechless". Yet, some parents spoke of integration as both "good" and "bad". Those who saw it as "good" based this opinion on the fact that at the new high school their children have better facilities. Now students who need special services are able to get them. Students do receive better bus service, free lunches, and other services unheard of before integration. Some parents note that their children are now making better grades, although they worry that actual educational attainment may be declining.

But the weight of opinion seemed that integration was "bad". They fear that the new integrated schools will hire only white teachers who really do not want to teach black students. In such a situation black teachers can never feel secure in their positions. Many parents felt that students got a better education at old Booker T. Washington where black teachers did a fine job of educating blacks without such excellent facilities and little contact with the new methods which "hinder learning". They expressed the feeling that the "white man does not care if blacks learn or not". They seemed to feel that despite integration "things are still very separate" in school and in the community at large. Parents told us that their children "knew the names" of some of their white school mates but there was really little social relations with whites. One mother told us that her son had a "white friend" at Palmetto High School but that one day this "friend" told her son that "we can talk at school but you can't go home with me". The "black friend" is said to have retorted, "Man, I don't want to go home with you either". Quite wisely, parents expressed the idea that if students were allowed to engage in their own behavior without fear of reprisal from parents and other pressure groups, things would be much smoother at school between blacks and whites.

Thus, the black families who live in Booker T. Washington Estates are dubious about integration. Some parents felt that "only time will tell about the situation". They fear that perhaps "all children do not get treated like human beings". And still another parent said, "Integration has taught us (blacks) that we need to be with our own kind. The program just ain't working. The solution is maybe to weed out those whites who care from those that don't. Blacks have to become skilful in the 'weeding out' process."

The Families of East Ridge:

East Ridge, a white neighborhood located on the fringes of University City, consists wholly of spacious, single family dwellings with two, three or four bedrooms. Most houses are constructed on small, average-sized lots, although a few are surrounded by as much as 4 acres of grounds. The houses in this community range in estimated value from $10,000 to $40,000. The yards are consistently well-kept, and some are manicured to near perfection and many contain children's outdoor play equipment. An expensive power boat and trailer is also frequently in sight. Although not all the streets are paved, the dirt streets seem to add to the rustic attractiveness of the area, and perhaps some residents prefer the rough dirt streets as a symbol of the preservation of the character of the community. The residents express the feeling that the quality of their outdoor surroundings, trees, lawns and plantings, creates a sense of well being for them.

The furnishings of the houses, similar to the yards, reflect a homogeneity within the neighborhood. The majority of the families interviewed own "Early American" style furniture, although the quality and workmanship varies from poor to excellent. The furnishings also reflect the importance attached to the acquisition of prestigious material possessions: color televisions, stereo equipment, shag carpets and elegant drapes. Evidence of intellectual interest, such as books, magazines and paperback novels are found in almost all the homes, although in some these items are more visibly displayed. All of the families have cars, and some have two. In fact, it is not uncommon for teenagers to be allowed to drive cars to school regularly.

Ten East Ridge families were interviewed for this study. The information reported here was obtained from these interviews.

The occupations, or sources of income, of the residents interviewed include land surveyor, truck driver, non-college trained engineer, social security recipient, police, and retired military personnel. Most of the women are housewives, and those who work outside the home are employed as teachers, telephone operators or semi-professionals. The estimated annual household income ranges from $6,000 to $20,000. The number of children in the households interviewed range from one to six with ages from 16 months to 20 years. No grandparents or grandchildren lived in the homes of the informants.

East Ridge seems to have very few residents who are natives to the area around University City. They have come from all parts of the United States, although a majority have come from the southern states. In a few exceptional cases, one spouse was a native of a community near University City.

Friendship networks within East Ridge appear to grow out of social club participation, church attendance and close physical proximity. Kinship structure, however, played no role in the structuring of friendship groups, although one resident expressed a desire to have kin close by. Of the three sources of friendship groups, the church seems to be the most important. Most families attend church consistently and with conviction. Many hours are spent at church functions each week. For example, it is common for a parent to belong to the church choir as well as two or three other church related activities. Many of the parents teach Sunday School as well as being involved with other church affairs during weekdays.

A second area of voluntary affiliation which plays a lesser role in forming friendships for the parents is the child's high school.

Parents visit the school when their children are having social or academic difficulties, or to attend Band or Football Booster Club meetings. The relationship of the parents to the school appears to be relatively formal. Parents and children do not ordinarily talk about school at length unless a problem exists. Almost all of the parents know one or two teachers at the high school. In addition, the parents know if their children have black friends at school. Nevertheless, there are some parents who have never visited the school nor attended any school-sponsored events.

Friendship associations among the children of the community are common. None of them have black friends outside of school. School-oriented problems are discussed in the children's friendship groups. They also have many non-school interactions including visits to each others' homes, parties and attending the movies. Several of the students work in the afternoons and on weekends in the following types of work: making deliveries, working at a repair shop, working in stores and other businesses. The children have few chores in the home. They usually spend non-school time watching television, visiting friends or reading books and magazines.

In responding to questions about their children's school and integration, the parents do not express the feeling that they have "given up or lost" anything with the creation of Palmetto high school. However, they feel that the integration of Palmetto high school via court order has led to cynicism in themselves and their children. They state that school integration has led them and their children to learn to hate "Negroes". They report that their children have little constructive communication with black students since "belligerance begets belligerance". According to the parents interviewed, a shortage of books, slack enforcement of rules, little home work assignments and the presence of "Negroes" have caused the quality of education of Palmetto to deteriorate.

The informants expressed the idea that blacks were forced to freedom, but not educated into American mores and values. They said that the federal government does not care about the welfare of the blacks, and has never cared about them. "Only the southern whites understand blacks". The informants also expressed the idea that blacks and whites may be learning something very important through going to school together: peaceful co-existence. However, hostility toward the guidelines concerning black-white ratios in the schools imposed by the court order is common since the guidelines are considered unreasonable because of the housing patterns in University City. The need to bus students to Palmetto in order to achieve the necessary black-white ratio has resulted in the curtailment of students' involvement in beneficial after-school activities. Students who ride the bus must leave immediately after school, and cannot stay for after-school activities. Another attitude expressed by parents related to the integration program was that outside agencies had been unfair to Palmetto High in terms of services rendered until a group of parents, mostly white, confronted certain organizations. The parents felt that this unfairness stemmed from racial feelings expressed by segments of the larger community of University City.

The parents also have firm opinions about what they consider to be a marked decay of discipline in the schools. This decay is attributed directly to Dr. Spock's philosophy on child rearing. These parents feel that children should be whipped as long as they do not conform to desired behavior patterns. They also believe that integration has caused discipline among the blacks to deteriorate, but in this case they attribute it to the explanation that "blacks act worse around whites". The parents feel that teachers were formerly more demanding of students both in terms of academic standards and discipline. The parents advocate that students who exhibit undesirable behavior should be punished both mentally and physically.

Other opinions about integration center around the numbers and proportion of blacks at Palmetto High. Several parents agreed that blacks are no problem when in small numbers. When blacks represent a substantial proportion of the entire student body, however, the situation is considered to be deteriorating. Only physical integration, and not much of that, occurs at Palmetto High.

The parents also believe that the school, in following a policy of integration, must lower academic standards in order to keep the blacks from failing academically. They state that if blacks don't fail academically, it is virtually impossible for whites to fail academically. The challenge and learning environment is therefore removed from the school in order to accomodate the blacks, according to the parents. The parents also express the idea that black achievement can never make them equals to the whites. "Blacks can get many things, but they can never be white." Indeed, the opinion of some of the parents is so strong that they feel the only solution to racial tension is to send the blacks to Africa although some laughed when they said it. Some expressed the belief that the academic inferiority of the blacks due to years of segregation and denial may now have become "inherited".

The parents commented on the different behavior of black students in the integrated setting; a "new" type of self-assertion and self-confidence. The reaction of the parents to this has been to restrict or create fears in their children, to attempt to limit their interactions with black students to the absolute minimum. Nevertheless, the fact that their children have contact with blacks at school is considered to be less harmful than wide spread drug use at other schools, which the parents feel is very limited at Palmetto high school. One parent stated. "I would rather that my children be at Palmetto even though there are a lot of 'niggers' there; I would rather have to fight 'niggers' than to fight drugs."

Not all parents are totally opposed to integration, although they tend to be hostile to what they perceive as the imposed manipulation of the courts. They stated that even after integration was decreed by the Supreme Court, the actual process was so slow that when the District Court insisted on immediate integration, they were not ready for it. Most of the parents favor a freedom-of-choice principle for selection of school, and many feel that in the long run integration is probably useful and beneficial. However, they feel that their children's education is suffering because they have had the misfortune of having to attend school during the transition period.

In conclusion, the residents of East Ridge have a variety of attitudes and opinions which bear upon integration in the schools. They often hold contradictory opinions about what is right in general and what is right in their own cases. They do consistently hold to the belief that there is a wide difference between the expectations, capabilities and future of blacks and whites. They tend to be condescendingly tolerant of the blacks and do not wish them harm, because "they, too, are human", and need to be able to "function" in life. On the other hand, many of them did feel that the very presence of the blacks in this society was preventing it from functioning properly. A minority felt that the presence of a significant number of blacks in many situations makes it extremely difficult for whites; one informant stated, "Even a small number is too many." These parents perceived black numbers as a threat to them in terms of control and power, as well as accompanying disagreeable behavior. Other parents expressed feelings of disgust, indifference or misunderstanding.

Clearly, many traditional stereotypes about black behavior, abilities and interacial interaction are important components in forming the feelings reported here. It is difficult to see how students from East Ridge could avoid being influenced by them, either consciously or unconsciously. The East Ridge students bring these stereotypes, values, conflicts and verbalizations to school with them. Lacking any formal way to work through these feelings, the student is expected to learn his academic lessons and tolerate internal and external frustrations. Therefore, the students have a difficult task to confront under pressure. In spite of this, they receive little guidance with respect to their problems either from the community or from the school according to parental opinion.

The White Families of Guthrie:

Guthrie is a small town located approximately 15 miles north of University City. In 1970, the census tract which includes the small town had a total population of slightly more than 3,800 people of which about 70 percent were classified as white and 30 percent as black. Many of the residents of this small town and the surrounding rural area commute into University City daily for work. Most of those who work in University City hold semi-professional or white collar jobs. They work, for example, at the large state institution for the mentally retarded providing custodial care to children and adults. Others have jobs as secretaries or clerks in offices. Those residents of Guthrie who do not commute to the city manage small family owned businesses such as a restaurant, a drug store, or a country type general store. Guthrie is not large enough to have been invaded by supermarket chains. Other families living in Guthrie or in the nearby rural zone either depend on farming as a main source of income or as a supplementary one. Thus, tractors and other farm equipment may be seen parked in the yards near some residences.

The people of Guthrie hold the values associated with small town and farm tradition of the South. Some families trace their ancestry over several generations and the majority of the residents were reared in the vicinity. Over the past ten years there has been a trickle of newcomers but these are few in numbers.

Social life in Guthrie revolves around the church. Everyone belongs to a church. The activities at the church are varied and church functions are held throughout the week, with the Sunday services being the major event. Houses range in age from nineteenth century two-story type to those of recent construction. The value of these houses is estimated to range from $15,000 to $30,000. The attached acreage would probably increase the value of the houses significantly. Yards are neatly kept, lawns are mowed, and flowering shrubs give the area a fresh, "cared for" look. An observer would assume a continuity of generations pride in community and feeling of autonomy.

The family ranges in size from nine, including the mother and father, to four. The family structure appears to be the nuclear type, oftentimes with grandparents resident nearby. Friendship is highly valued. In fact, some Guthrie people ranked this attribute as the most important aspect of one's life. Its validity is attested to by residents who report that their neighbors would be the persons contacted in case of emergencies, except to borrow money. "But then," said one resident, "we have friends who are bankers." Those people who work for state and county agencies use credit unions available at their place of work.

Children, like friends, are highly valued. Respect and discipline by children toward older people is demanded. After providing shelter and food parents see their major responsibility for their children as providing discipline. The children have definite chores to perform after school. If the family owns a business, the children will assist here. In other instances the children perform household tasks. The parental expectations are met by the children usually in a cooperative manner.

Parental anxiety for the welfare and safety of their children has increased since the assignment of their children to Palmetto High some fifteen miles away. They worry about safety on the highway as well as the adverse moral influence "outsiders" at the public school may have on their children. Parents feel that the county officials, without consulting their wishes, rearranged their children's educational experiences. As a consequence, the education their children receive has deteriorated. They attribute part of the problem arising from the size of the school which is viewed as huge when compared with their community school. Another explanation offered by the parents for the deterioration of the quality of education is that so many students, representing different value systems and cultures, are at the school. They have in mind the large number of whites and blacks who come from the city.

Although there is uneasiness about the influence of urban whites, the issues concerning parental loss of control tend to focus upon the presence of blacks in relation to the Guthrie children. Issues concerning blacks are not easily discussed. The Guthrie residents are quick to say that blacks are accepted and understood in their community. They affirm that blacks and whites grow up together and get along on a friendly basis with each other, but blacks, similar to the Guthrie white children, have a "special" place in which to remain, and a "special" role to perform.

Blacks and whites in Guthrie separate into distinct groups. The black community has its own churches, its own general store, and a place used for entertainment with an occasional dance and band.

The white Guthrie residents say black residents are employed as garbage collectors, trash men, and handy men. Several of the families also employ black women as maids. Contacts are limited to those described and the blacks are happy and "content" -- they were raised together and therefore understand each other.

The parents expressed suspicions of outsiders, especially blacks, who come into their community and stir up trouble. Moreover, they believe that blacks are easily led by others, and that they can cause problems if they are not watched. Some thought that strategies should be discussed within the white community that deals, specifically, with how to control the "coloreds".

Integrated schools have upset the common practice of separation between blacks and whites. Yet there are differences of feelings concerning the mixing of races at school. One popular belief is that integration has hindered the white child, because blacks cannot advance as fast as white children. The "coloreds" should be allowed to have their own school as before. Blacks and whites ride the same school bus into University City and some parents point out that the Guthrie children "stick together" at school -- both black and white. The parents believe that more "order" should be demanded by the teachers and the administration. In fact, the administration should spank the children if necessary. The lack of physical punishment is one of the reasons that drugs, fights, and "riots" occur. Other parents feel that with Guthrie children who come in contact with urban whites and blacks will have their behavior and values upset by these influences.

Still other parents believe that the money used for busing could be used for building another school in Guthrie. According to one informant, things would be better for both blacks and whites if: (1) busing was stopped; (2) small town high schools were operational; and (3) respect for teachers was demanded from the students.

The idea of family and community decay is directly associated with city life. The Guthrie residents are faced with the anxiety, real or imagined, of new ideas and behaviors being transported into their community by their own children.

Parents seldom visit the school. Few of the activities are attended by the parents. They complain of loudness, lack of order and large numbers of blacks, being some of the reasons for lack of close school-community participation. As stated previously, activities are held within the community; and they revolve around the church and the neighborhood. Integration, according to the residents, is something that was forced upon them by "Washington and the School Board". They feel that they know how to handle their racial problems without the help of outsiders. Their idea of integration exists in terms of whites defining for blacks, what their roles and where their boundaries rest.

Conclusion:

When one comes to assess the significance of the findings derived from interviews with parents of Palmetto high school students in four differing types of sub-communities there are several persistent themes which are common to all of them. It does not matter that the respondents are black or white, that they are poor or middle-class, or that they are small town-- rural or urban, they voice with near unanimity the agreement that the consequences of desegregation of schools have been, to state it mildly, unfortunate, and to phrase it more bluntly actually or potentially damaging to their children, their families, and their community. In fairness, it should be pointed out that some of the complaints are directed toward the manner in which the schools are managed and very possibly would have been present even if racial mixing had not occurred.

The themes may be divided into three major areas, namely, the effect upon their children; the relationships between their children and their families; and the relationships between parents and the school and the sense of community.

Both blacks and whites agree that the quality of education which their children receive is inferior to that which existed in the pre-segregation period. Blacks affirm that white teachers are indifferent, hostile, or don't know how to educate black children and whites assert that the standards of education have been lowered to accomodate blacks who are either not so well prepared academically, less interested, or less capable of learning. All groups of parents are concerned about the moral influence which children of the opposite race, or of urban habits, will have upon their own children.

Parents are also concerned about the quality of citizenship training. They condemn the laxity in discipline and the failure to maintain order. They fear racial bias by administrators or teachers in the control of students and in the allocation of punishment.

Modification in the relationship between parent and child is also a concern. This finds expression in the sense of loss of control over the child's behavior and his estrangement from values strongly held by the family. Curiously enough anxiety about cross-racial sexual mixing was not expressed and its absence is due either to a failure to elicit such feelings, reticience on the part of parents to talk on this subject, or an actual lack of concern.

Desegregation as destructive of community life was a topic of recurring concern. For the blacks the Booker T. Washington high school provided athletic and cultural programs which welded the black community into a cohesive whole. Through their children, and earlier educational experiences of their own, the blacks possessed a reality and a symbol which gave them standing vis-a-vis whites in a society of racial separateness. With its demise, these loyalties found no substitute, but instead they suffered a forced entry into a white dominated school system.

The response of the small-town rural whites of Guthrie was no different in principles, only in detail. The forced busing of their children to an urban center deprived them of that communal identity which a local school had once provided. This sense of outside upon community was less evident among the whites of East Ridge, but in fact they had always been an appendage of the larger urban city on whose outskirts they resided. But they too shared the difficulties of linking with the new school although they had begun to take the steps to make an identification.

What the outcome may be depends on events not yet discernible. No backward steps can restore the order, now partially idealized, of the pre-existing situation. The students of Palmetto high school possess highly diverse backgrounds. How they will respond to the cultural mix is still undetermined.

THE FAMILIES OF FORREST PARK STUDENTS

It must be remembered that Forrest Park High School is situated in the northwestern portion of the University City urban area; in fact it is located just beyond the present city limits in an area which is still somewhat transitional from urban to suburban. This is the district of University City which is of most recent growth. It is also the section of the University City urban area which is overwhelmingly white; according to the 1970 census data well over 95 percent of the people in census tracts surrounding Forrest Park High School are white. These people are what might be called "upper-middle class". In occupation, they are professionals, teachers, owners of their own businesses, or executives. They live in modern, well kept houses with manicured lawns along quiet streets, most of which are paved but others still unpaved waiting for the city or county to provide paving.

The smaller number of black families who live in the area surrounding Forrest Park High, which is less than 5 percent of the total, form "islands" or "pockets" common in University City and which were discussed earlier in this report. Not long ago these rural black families were living beyond the reaches of urban University City in small black settlements known as Brownsville, Seminole, and the like. As the urban area expanded north and west, these black rural neighborhoods became surrounded by housing developments occupied by whites until today they remain as "islands" in this predominantly white region of the city. There are insufficient black families in the area around Forrest Park High to provide the 20 percent black student body; thus blacks must be bused. Black students are bused from the nearby rural neighborhoods and some 9th graders come from the southeast where blacks make up more than 50 percent of the population. There are then at Forrest Park High, two kinds of blacks -- those who live in the general vicinity whose families were not long ago essentially rural and those whose families are essentially urban and who live in the area of the greatest poverty in University City. The white families of Forrest Park High are remarkably socially homogenous while the families of the blacks are varied. The difference in the life style between the upper-middle class whites, the rural blacks, and the urban blacks provide strikingly varied family backgrounds for the students of Forrest Park High.

The White Families:

The white families of the northwestern section of University City share most of the patterns of behavior, the standard of living, and the values of the upper-middle class of hundreds of small cities and suburbs of large cities throughout the United States. They are well nourished; they are well housed; they own and listen to television; they subscribe to and read at least the local newspaper and in many cases also magazines with national circulation; they take vacations although not always together as a family; and they are well dressed (at least the parents are but perhaps out of preference not their children). In brief, relative to the middle class in most parts of the world, they are economically privileged living in what has been so often called a consumer society. Comparatively speaking, however, in the residencial area which surrounds Forrest Park High, there are few, if any, families who are rich to the degree of being classed as "millionaires" as there are, for example, in

Scarsdale, New York; people do not live in the manner of the Lowndes family of California who were documented so thoroughly not long ago in a television series. Unless they are unknown to us, there are no "aristocrats", descendants of well known families such as the Vanderbilts, the Buckleys, the Rockefellers et.al. living in these neighborhoods or even in all of University City for that matter. Nor are there any white families in northwestern University City whose income falls below the poverty level if we can believe the census data. The white families of Forrest Park High School students do not live obstentatiously by United States standards; in fact they are a close fit in life style, in income, and consumption standards to their counterparts in other regions of the United States.

Perhaps, we should be more specific. All of those connected with the present research project know families living in northwestern University City and we have been in a sense "participant observers" in family life of this segment of the population. However, twenty white families who had children at Forrest Park High School were interviewed at some length. These families were not selected by any random or stratified sample technique; instead we worked with a "snow ball" technique in selecting parents who were willing to be interviewed. Care was taken, however, to be certain that we were not caught up in but one network of parents. Thus, the parents interviewed cannot be said to be "average families" nor in any sense conform to a norm. They do, however, provide us with examples against which we may compare our knowledge gained from participation and casual interviews.

The interviews with these twenty families were not "structured interviews" but were instead what might be called "open ended". The interviewer was furnished with a series of questions which were used more as a mnemonic device of the subjects to be covered rather than as questions to be directly answered during the interviews. The interviews had an average duration of about two hours and with one exception took place within the home. Most often it was the mother of the family who was interviewed but sometimes the father was also present; and at times, even their children (students at Forrest Park) were listening and interjected their thoughts. All of the interviews with white parents of Forrest Park High School students were carried out by one person, a recent Ph.D. in Anthropology with considerable previous field research experience. She was well received; she was often served coffee, a soft drink, even a cocktail, and once invited to stay for dinner. The profile of upper-middle class white families that follows is based mainly upon these interviews.

It was inconvenient, even ill-mannered, to ask these twenty families for their precise annual income but with indirect evidence (i.e. faculty salaries, published pay scales, etc.) it is not difficult to make an "educated guess". Their incomes, we estimated, varied from twenty to forty thousand dollars a year, although there was at least one family with a total income of only about $15,000. When one compares this income level with average family incomes of the suburban and middle class United States, they are very well paid. In our twenty families, there were 12 professors at State University ranging from a Dean to a part-time lecturer. There was one high school teacher; four public servants ranging from one of the highest city officials to a minor agricultural employee; and three businessmen -- a manager of an important local firm and two owners of small commercial enterprises. The total family income, however, does not depend upon the occupation of the male alone; eleven wives worked either full or part-time. They were teachers, nurses, specialists in a profession, or even part-time clerks in a department store. We did not inquire into inherited or accumulated capital but it was inferred that the high standard of living of this group was usually based upon multiple salaries and that they had little or no savings.

Yet, they live well. It would be hard to describe their homes collectively. Their houses are generally one-story and rather modern, constructed of concrete-black or wood, with may glass doors and picture windows. Typically there is a living room, a dining room, a family room, three bedrooms and two baths, and a carport or garage. Such homes are valued at $30-$50,000 and a few as high as $100,000. There is lots of room. In the twenty households, there was an average of five persons in each house. In one home their were eight people (2 parents and 6 children) and another household had but three people. Each household typically holds but two generations -- the parents and their children. In only two households were grandparents present -- two grandmothers (mother's of the wife) but one of these grandmothers stayed only six months a year. Since we are dealing with high school students and their "middle age" parents, there are no infants; yet there are older and younger siblings. Thus, there are some "kids" still in grade school and, more important, older brothers and sisters already in college. Thus, a household composition varies; it may have six members, but two college students are only home for vacations. Accordingly, members have room to be alone and privacy to study, if they wish to do so. This simple factor of space in which to live and a place to study is important to remember, particularly when we begin to compare these conditions with those of the black families of University City. It should be remembered that housing space is a socio-economic factor and cannot be considered apart from other factors. The contrasting home conditions of black students has been discussed in other portions of this report.

The families we interviewed were not "native sons" or "daughters" of University City. In fact, in the families we interviewed only one parent was born in the city and he had married a school friend who had moved early in her life to the city. Yet, these families were not newcomers. They had lived on an average of nine years in University City; two families had first moved to University City 15 years ago and another two had been 12 years in residence. They were not representative of the proverbial "nomadic" upper-middle class of American who are reported to move each five years. Although most of their children of high school age were born elsewhere most of the families had lived in University City long enough to know the community well and to become thoroughly identified with it. We are not certain of the place of birth of all the parents but our interviews indicate that many of them are from other southern states and that another significant group comes from the central north of the United States. Most of the professionals (i.e. professors, doctors, and the like) have spent considerable time in northern United States where they studied or worked before coming to University City. At least we can say that they are not an in-grown or provincial southern population.

Like most Americans they watch popular programs and national news reports on television. In fact one of our interviews was hindered because the mother was so interested in a special news session on Spiro Agnew. They all read the local newspaper which contains considerable news (it is owned by the New York Times) and which has a decided "liberal" point-of-view in its editorials. In their family rooms, a variety of national magazines could be seen. Time, Newsweek, Sports Illustrated, Reader's Digest, Southern Living, Better Homes & Gardens, National Geographic, Seventeen, Scientific American, and other periodicals were observed. But not all of these parents are great readers. One father, a professor, said that he worked so hard at the University that he did not have time to read news and literary periodicals. Yet almost all of these upper-middle class families interviewed were reasonably informed people. We did not discuss politics but they were obviously politically aware especially during the summer of 1973 when the Senate Watergate Hearings were being aired.

The upper-middle class parents of Forrest Park High School students are only moderately religious. Two families reported themselves to be Roman Catholic, one family is Catholic (father) and Methodist (mother), one family is Jewish, eight couples belong to the Methodist Church, two Presbyterian, one Unitarian, two belong to the United Church (non-demoninational Protestant) and three couples had no church affiliation at all. None of them seemed especially devout, although one couple stated that practically all of their friends were from the church (United Church). People reported going to church "every Sunday except in the summer", "about twice a month", and "occasionally". It is obvious that the church is hardly the center of their lives nor really an important institution which unites most people with others. Parents were not at all certain if their high school age children attend church. Sometimes they mentioned church sponsored social events which their children attended.

These upper-middle class families of University City are singularly without relatives within their own community. One woman reported that her mother "lives across the street". One couple (grandparents) moved to University City to be near their children and grandchildren. These families did not mention the presence of other kinsmen such as brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, or cousins who lived in University City. In response to an open ended question concerning whom one might turn to for a favor or in case of trouble, kin were not mentioned. Nor did people speak of kinsmen as frequent social contacts. People would call upon friends who generally were the husband's professional or business associates. Sometimes a close neighbor was mentioned as the one to whom one might appeal for a small favor or for help in a crisis. People most often counted as "friends" those who were occupationally similar such as other professors and their wives, other businessmen and their wives, or other professionals and their wives -- or a "golf partner". Compared to other complex cultures of the world and compared to the blacks of University City, such people live in a non-kinship society. This does not mean that they do not have kinsmen, just that such kin are scattered, living in other parts of the same state and in other regions of the United States.

Up until this point our interviews with the parents of Forrest Park High School students seem to reveal them almost as stereotypes of upper-middle class suburban American. They are relatively well educated, well fed, well housed, not poor nor very rich, well informed within the limits of the mass media, not religious but still mostly ceremonial church members, kin-less and dependent upon associates deriving from their occupation, neighborhood, church, or clubs. That this type of sub-culture exists we are certain especially since similar behavior has been described for other parts of the United States and Canada (cf. Crestwood Heights, etc.). But, this group which we describe lives in the south. Since many of its members have been recruited by the State University from the northern middle-west and the north-east, not all of them, by any means, are at all Southern. Such people may be more cosmopolitan than their analogues in another city of the same state or region. Yet, the hypothesis emerges that there is a culture of the upper-middle class which extends throughout the USA. People of this social segment share more in common in ideology and in their style of life whereever they live, be it New Jersey, North Carolina, Illinois, Kansas, New Mexico and even California, than they do with the people of the inner ghettos of our great cities -- the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Cubans, the Chicanos, and the white American poor and rich. (cf. Herbert Gans "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-evaluation of Definitions" reprinted in Urbanism in World Perspective edited by Sylvia Fleis Fava, New York, 1968). Pertinent questions for us are, of course, what do they think of their children and what is their relationship to these high school age people? What do the parents think of the contemporary education offered at Forrest Park High School? What do they think about the efficacy of desegregation and the relations between blacks and whites? We shall try to take up these questions in turn as they were revealed by our participation in the community and from our interviews.

Parents are intensely interested and even worried about the lives of their high school age children. Yet they are permissible and even respectful of rights of their children to order their own lives. This was a subject which parents seemed to want to talk about. They know generally with whom their children associate: "his friends are fellow members of athletic teams", "He has three best friends who have been his friends for 4 or 5 years and they live within a couple of blocks from him." and "my son's friends were on the tennis team" -- and "my daughter is the friend of girls in her class and other horse back riders". Parents were able to provide at least the first names of their children's friends and the cliques they belong to. Surprisingly, parents did not complain strongly about the over-use of the telephone. Only one family interviewed reported that they had a separate telephone line for their teenagers. Most parents simply said that their teenagers did use the telephone often. When a daughter had "a new boy friend, she talked often". Girls often chatted by telephone with one another, boys talked less with one another. But the over use of the telephone did not seem to be really a serious problem. One professors wife complained that her husband used the telephone more than the children.

One cannot say, however, that the parents have a close relation with their children. They are not quite certain what their children do after school. One mother says that her daughter comes home about nine-tenth's of the time. Another knows that the daughter has an after-school job. Another said my son is "very much a loner", he comes home but her daughter swims two hours a day after school and brings friends home. Others take the word of their children that they simply "horse around" after school. Parents are not sure exactly what their children do with their spare time and there are few occasions when parents and high school students spend time together or have common interests that bring them together. Each should respect the self-identity and privacy of the other -- this seems to be the major concept of the parents.

This permissive concept seems most apparent when parents were asked about their aspirations or hopes for their high school children. We began this study with the confirmed idea that such upper-middle class and well educated Americans would have high aspirations for their children. We expected that they would insist that their children go on to some form of higher education, and to enter professions or be trained for higher echelons of the business world. Parents did not seem to make any point at all that their sons and daughters continue studies or make a future life in University City. They "rather hoped" that their children would go to college and it was surprising that a large number of recent graduates from Forrest Park High School of the upper-middle class families have gone to the local Junior College -- rather than to State University, Tulane, North Carolina, Duke, Yale, Harvard, or Columbia. A rather typical attitude expressed by one mother who is herself a registered nurse and whose husband is an M.D. is:

> "She said that she really didn't have much preference as to her children's future occupation. She explained her son has been unmotivated, although he is extremely bright. He takes the attitude that "he'll do what's required and that's all. Beyond that he'll only study what he's interested in.' She reported 'he wants to be a physician but I'm not for sending him to college unless he's motivated." She would rather that he entered the Army for two years or does something else "until he realizes that to be a Doctor, he must study things he does not like."

On the other hand this same mother seemed more definite about a slightly younger daughter who will be in the tenth grade at Forrest Park high school in 1973-74.

> "She wants to be a nurse", she said: "It takes a certain kind of person and she loves people and will do what is required". When the mother asked if she wanted her daughter to finish college before entering Nursing School, the mother said that she 'hoped so, since I did'.

One notes that parents are not without ambition for their children. Yet, they seem somewhat disappointed at their lack of motivation. But parents have learned "not to push" or "insist too strongly". "It only breeds rebellion". Almost all hope that their children might go on to college but they are not certain that they will do so.

The parents of the students at Forrest Park High School seem reasonably well informed about the school and its activities. Most of them have attended Parents' Night and other special events. Those whose sons or daughters participate in athletics often attend games. They know the names of some of their children's teachers and, in fact, they had opinions as to the capabilities of specific teachers and school administrators. It should be remembered that Forrest Park is a new school and there are no beloved teachers who for 30 years or more have taught children in the same family of widely different ages or even different generations. Yet, to these white upper-middle class parents Forrest Park is perhaps as close to a community high school as seems possible under the circumstances. It is not "the high school" of a small town but neither is it impersonal and isolated from the community as are the very large high schools in great metropolitan centers.

These upper-middle class parents were much interested in discussing the quality of education at Forrest Park High School. There was almost universal agreement that the range and potential quality of the secondary education available to their children was greater and better than they themselves had experienced. Forrest Park operates on now fashionable "modular schedule" system. This was the subject of great interest and concern during our interviews. One cannot say that these upper-middle class parents are against the modular scheduling system. They are dubious and concerned about its influence upon their children and the school environment. This "modular scheduling" combined with the concept of an "open campus" (i.e. the right to leave the school grounds) are questions of great concern among the parents of this socio-economic class. Both concepts conflict with their own experience in secondary school which they admit, with some pride, was rigid in schedule and sparse in curriculum. They fear that modular scheduling provides too much freedom. "What do they do in free periods?" is the paraphrase of a query posed by several people. Another often expressed worry was: "You cannot know whether they are even in school." Their children bring home reports of the difficulties of spending free periods in the library (often called the Media Center) -- the librarian refuses access for lack of proper documents, the librarian spends her time trying to keep people quiet, and the noise of conversation is too much for concentration. So the library is not the answer at least according to Forrest Park parents to fill the free time provided by the modular schedule. Most of them have reached the consensus that modular scheduling is a fine idea for "mature" high school students but few think of their own sons and daughters as "mature" enough.

"It may work for the 11th and 12th grades (Juniors and Seniors) but it is not good for the 9th and 10th" said one mother. In fact, two families attribute the desire of their 10th and 11th grade children for early graduation as due to the "modular scheduling system". They felt high school was a bore and there was nothing to do. This is hardly a generalized opinion but it illustrates a few parents point-of-view. Most parents, however, are worried about the lack of discipline in school and they suspect that modular scheduling may be one cause. Such scheduling gives too much freedom to the less "mature" and particularly to the blacks who, from their point-of-view, need discipline. They even relate modular scheduling to lack of faculty interest. "You can fail a course (at Forrest Park) and no one will help you" said one parent in discussing the system. Basically, Forrest Park parents are rather puzzled with modular scheduling as a system and they show very little faith in the adaptability and intelligence of their children.

Late in each interview, parents were asked: "Has integration been a worthwhile experience for your child or children?" This, is of course, the basic question of our research project. The question was posed in a positive manner because one might suspect that a graduate student (or a Ph.D. in the case of the interviewer) would think of desegregation as a positive or good thing. The question was phrased in a way to elicit discussion, not to elicit simply a positive or negative reply. We feel that people talked quite openly and freely about the subject. At least their responses seem to be rather lengthy and consistent.

None of the parents interviewed were avowed racists in the sense that no one stated that they believed in any inherent inferiority of blacks. In fact, most parents wanted to make it known explicitly to the interviewer that they believed in racial equality. Likewise, they said that they thought that the integration of schools was inevitable and "necessary for the nation". They did not quarrel with the intent of the law which brought about integration in their schools. Their response should be considered against their experience and background since these parents are from the North and Midwest of the United States, and some of those who are from the South have lived and studied elsewhere, and they live in a university town in which the middle and upper classes pride themselves on their liberal point of view. On the surface, it would seem that the upper-middle class students of Forrest Park High come from enlightened homes. And, so they do, from any comparative point of view. They are not taught dogmatic racism at home, on the contrary, they are, at least overtly, taught tolerance.

But it also must be remembered that University City is in the South. Integration of schools is less than 4 years old and it took place almost as an act -- suddenly, but not, of course, without warning. The city had (and still has) a social system that segregates black from white. In general, blacks are still less well housed, earn less than whites, work in less prestigeful occupations, and receive fewer and poorer services than whites. This is not true of all blacks in comparison with whites but the black middle class, which has a superior standard of living compared to many whites, is not large enough to modify this overall comparison. Furthermore, despite legal sanctions to the contrary the social system of University City is a segregated social system. One might call it "self imposed" segregation; yet segregation was inherited from the past as a tradition and is honored in an informal manner by blacks and whites alike. This has been discussed earlier in this report and we will not dwell upon it here. It is enough to say that if the upper-middle class white families of University City profess to be liberal in regard to racial equality, their professions run contrary to the society in which they live.

After expressing their basic support for desegregation, most parents then expressed their misgivings. The most general criticism was that the blacks suffered from poor backgrounds both in the family and in previous school training. One father stated that black seniors at the now defunct all black Booker T. Washington high school tested at only 6th to 7th grade levels (which is very dubious) so how could they adjust at Forrest Park High School. Others expressed the opinion that blacks were poorly prepared academically which could be accounted for by the poorer facilities in former black primary schools. Curiously, however, the people interviewed did not dwell on differences in educational background but instead on the behavioral and social difficulties of desegregation. The same father cited above said that blacks lack discipline in their home environment. The mother of this same family added that their son had been greatly hurt by integration. At the time, their son was a sophomore at Central High School and had been transferred to Forrest Park. Before he (the son) "was a good and studious student. After integration he never brought a book home again because the school people (teachers and administrators) could only involve themselves in keeping order. As a result, he was ill-prepared for college". The father then interjected that although his son and friends were once beaten up by a group of blacks, he thinks there will be less "racial ruckus" in the future. This father insisted that they had always taught their children (a son and daughter) that the "quality of a man's work has nothing to do with his skin" -- a fact he had learned in the Army. But the mother reminded her husband that their children had accused them of being racists because they themselves have no black friends. Yet it seems that the children do not have any black friends either and certainly do not socialize with blacks after school.

The general tenor of the attitudes expressed above is commonplace among the upper-middle class families interviewed. Other complaints appeared however. Several felt that the methods used to achieve "integration" were bad. It was "forced", "self-conscious", and "too fast". "Kids", one mother said, "get to be friends informally and black-white interaction cannot be forced." She illustrated her point by stating that her son had several black acquaintances with whom he shared an interest in electronics. The children of several families had attended elementary or junior high schools in which there was "token integration" (that is five to ten blacks among 200 students) and in such schools everything worked well. It is when blacks are present in large groups that conflict appears. And, finally, several parents said that their high school age children had become racially prejudiced because of desegregation. Their children had told them of minor incidents with blacks which "turned them off" in regard to blacks. One daughter who was present at the interview told how the family had moved to University City two years ago from a small city in Michigan where there were no blacks. They had looked forward to meeting blacks in University City. She was disappointed. The one black teacher she had was "terrible" and not educationally prepared. There are few black students in her classes. "Black kids don't want to be friends with us," she said.

Parents did not think that teachers could be depended upon to control black-white conflict. "If there is a problem, the teachers don't want to get involved," said one mother. She added that "the kids have been able to cool it pretty well." She complained that her children have been "shoved and pushed for no reason ... there's a racial problem, no question about it." She added that whites do not let themselves be pushed around. And her daughter who came into the interview added that "you protect your own color. Whites protect whites and blacks protect blacks". The daughter continued that "the schools don't admit there is trouble but there is, although it's not really bad". (Most white upper-middle class families who were interviewed used the term "black", although in the last interview cited the term "colored" was often used. "Nora G. is a nice colored girl" is an example. The term "nigger" was never used.)

There is a considerable amount of latent and overt hostility against blacks expressed in these interviews. Yet, everyone attempted to preserve the American liberal ideal which states that integration of schools is necessary for the nation, although they view their children as "suffering" to achieve that ideal. It is also evident that they cannot help their children adjust to desegregation. They know little or nothing about the style of life of the black families nor the real problems facing blacks in University City. Their own associations with blacks take place only in the most casual circumstances and on a very short term basis in public places and sometimes with black individuals on their jobs. They have never had the inter-racial experience of their children who now are learning to live over extended hours each day with people of another "race" and with different values and life styles. It would seem that parents can be of little help in making integration a success. The burden lies upon the shoulders of the students themselves.

The Black Families of Forrest Park

The blacks who attend Forrest Park high school are drawn from varied backgrounds. Those parents of the senior class are formerly rural black families who live in small neighborhoods in northwest University City and more distant suburbs. These black neighborhoods are enclaved today by a mainly white extension of the metropolitan zone, but they retain their former identity. They have neighborhood names such as Brownsville, Seminole, and Tucker Hill. They are small neighborhoods -- each with 20 to 50 houses dispersed on individually owned small acreages where families were horticulturists and mixed livestock producers. Yet each of these black neighborhood enclaves has what might be a ceremonial center composed of a church, a "juke" which is a small store serving soft drinks and other sundries and which serves as a social center. Each has also a baseball team which during the summer time competes against other such localities. Thus, the families of these small black neighborhoods know each other well having lived in the same place for many years or even over several generations. In fact, they are often relatives by consanguinity or marriage.

In contrast to these "ex-rural" blacks are the 9th graders at Forrest Park High School who are "bused in" from the southeast of University City. They come from a less cohesive group and their family backgrounds are different from both the "ex-rural" black families and the upper-middle class whites whose children predominate in numbers at Forrest Park. It is necessary, therefore, to report upon two types of black family life for the students of Forrest Park.

First, however, we must describe a difference in field research methods. Our studies of the black families of Forrest Park students was much more informal. The interviewers were armed with the aide-memoire questionnaire and their aim was to interview ten families. However, their method of field research and the technique which lent itself best to work with this population was not interviews by appointment. It was soon found that a form of participant observer technique with informal quasi-social interviews was more efficient and better understood. Thus, while we know as much or more about these black families, our knowledge derives from other techniques. Work with these small black enclave neighborhoods was more like study in a "little community".

The families of the black students from these small black neighborhoods are in many ways among the most stable in the whole community. Many of them own their homes inherited from their parents. The lots on which such homes are situated represent the vestiges of small farms which their parents, and sometimes grandparents, worked until the growth of the metropolitan area surrounded them. Some people still live in homes that were old farm houses which in one way or another have been improved in recent years. Today such houses have indoor plumbing, septic tanks, oil or bottled gas heaters, and extra rooms seem to have often been added. Yet, they have long front porches (with rocking chairs) where the family spend most of the hot summer evenings. Other families have built new houses. In one case, a family has built a new concrete-block house with four bedrooms, living and dining area, kitchen and carport. It is just next door (on the original lot) to another house where the family, and their parents before them, once lived. The "old house" is now rented.

It should be noted that in general the homes in such black neighborhoods are well kept; there are no shacks. The new homes are well landscaped and the older homes are surrounded by shady oaks and bushes. One new home was being landscaped when our interviewer called and another was notable for the amount of care expended in the upkeep of the yard. Yet, the competition to have a well groomed lawn which one encounters in white northwestern University City and in black Booker T. Washington Estates does not seem to preoccupy people in these small neighborhoods.

A large percentage of the adults who live in such neighborhoods as Seminole and Brownsville were born there. Their parents tended to have large families (as they seem also to have) -- five, six, or even seven children. Some of their siblings have migrated to northern cities or to large cities in the state, but many have continued to live in the same neighborhood or in southeast University City. Thus, most families who reside in these small stable neighborhoods belong to rather large kinship networks. It is not uncommon for a male head of a family to have one or two brothers, a sister, and a half dozen cousins living nearby -- or in another part of the city. In addition, he may have a number of families related to him affinally. So, when we asked in our interviews "To whom would you turn in case of a crisis?", it was not surprising that the answer was a nearby kinsman. There does seem to be a remarkable amount of mutual aid among kinfolk which ranges from taking care of each others children to stearing a kinsman to a job. This situation contrasts strikingly with that of the white families of northwestern University City who generally without kinsmen.

People in these neighborhoods were never strangers to University City. Even before the metropolitan area surrounded them, they did most of their shopping in the city. No one farms anymore, although a few families may have a small garden and grass-fatten a few steers on once-farmed land. Men work in the city; they are maintenance men at State University, they have steady but relatively menial jobs at the city's hospitals, and some are skilled workmen such as masons, carpenters, and the like. At least some of their wives work, often as domestic services "once or twice a week for a rich family in the northwest". The interviewers estimated that an average family income for the families in Seminole and Brownsville was around $10,000 per year. If so, this would place them slightly above the median for University City as a whole. But they do not and can not maintain the high standard of living which we have described for the white families of northwestern University City whose children attend the same high school.

Religion plays an important role in the lives of these people of the black neighborhoods. The majority are Baptists and Methodists. They attend small churches located not too far away from their neighborhoods such as the New Salem Baptist Church and the Wesley Methodist Church which is in the Seminole neighborhood. People attend church every Sunday -- or sometimes two times a month -- and Sunday School each week. Many older people state that they also attend Prayer Meeting during an evening each week. The parents of students at Forrest Park High School stated generally that they seldom attended any school functions -- "we only attend Church functions", one family head said. The only school functions they remembered to have attended was an occasional football game.

Many of the students from these black neighborhoods are bused to Forrest Park High School for they live sufficiently far from the school. But busing _per se_ is not a problem for them. Before desegregation took place, they already depended upon school buses, for children were bused to University City or as far as the town of Auchala to all black elementary schools. They were bused into the city to attend the all black Booker T. Washington High School. In fact, they ride less time on buses now than they did before. Most parents admired the excellent facilities that

Forrest Park High School provides their children; but like the blacks in other parts of University City, they look back with some nostalgia to Booker T. Washington High School and regret that it was closed.

Most people in these neighborhoods had a rather negative attitude toward desegregation. One father made his point of view quite clearly. "The black student don't stand a chance now", he said. "Before integration, black children loved to go to school because they could compete with their kind. They knew how to get along with other black kids, but they don't know about white kids. This causes them a whole lot of problems. They have to learn first to get along with white kids and adjust to them before they can study with them." This same father commented on his son's experience at high school, "Well, he has learned that when he wants to he can be just as smart as they (white students) are, and that he is just as good as they are, but he still has not learned to get along with them. He still hates them. He will try to beat them out of what he wants. He sleeps on the job -- plays hooky from school and anything to get over the "Crackers" (whites). He says that he can talk teachers out of grades and he seems to be successful at it." Yet, this parent and others did see a positive side to desegregation. He felt that his son must learn to get along with whites both in and out of school, "but I cannot force him to do it". Another parent stated, "Integration has been worthwhile. They (their children) have not learned much more but they know a little more about white children; and this is good because they must live in the same world with them." Their attitudes toward desegration differs hardly at all from that of blacks in the predominantly black southeast of the city.

These black families seemed to know little about the high school their children attended. It has already been noted that they attended few school meetings. One father said that his wife goes sometimes to school meetings but "I don't know what they are". They were very little concerned about the organization of the curriculum and the school rules -- the "modular scheduling" and the "open campus" of so much concern to white parents of Forrest Park students. They are worried about discipline; "Children in high school these days do as they please. We did what we were told. We had to, or we knew what we would get when we got home, if our old man found out." They fear that the permissiveness of Forrest Park High School is somehow dangerous for their children.

This report does not include interviews with black families in the urban southeast whose 9th grade children are bused to Forrest Park High School. In a later (and perhaps published version) report, interviews with such families will be included. Yet, several hypotheses can be stated at this time. The "inner city" students and their families are somewhat different from those from formerly rural neighborhoods in the northwest. Families in the "inner city" are less stable and less apt to have permanent jobs than those in Seminole and Brownsville. The students who come from the inner city are more apt to be up-to-date on the most recent fads of "black culture" -- the new hairdos, the new music, and the new vocabulary which diffuses from Detroit and New York to the South. Coming as they do from relatively stable families which have learned the southern patterns over several generations, the students from the formerly rural neighborhoods of northwestern University City are more maleable and polite than their city counterparts. Yet both the families of the small neighbor hoods and those of the "inner city" differ profoundly from the upper middle class families of northwestern University City. There is a great gulf between them. This gulf is expressed as "lack of understanding", "fear", and sometimes as "hate". It will take a long time for the upper middle class to incorporate these blacks into their society in any way but physically.

XI

CONCLUSION

Except for an occasional outbreak of violence the initial turbulence which attended the racial integration of public schools in the American South has now subsided. The uneasy peace which prevails, however, cannot be reckoned as an achievement of those quieter days when racial separation was the prevailing pattern. Indeed, the calm obscures the seriousness of the problems which remain as well as their urgent need for solutions.

The objective of this study has been to discover what has happened as a result of school desegregation. The research has been guided by a major premise that the behavior of students in schools is linked to the social environment from which they derive. Hence the research encompassed the total community as a setting of the differences between blacks and whites and as well as the specific neighborhoods from which students come. Contrast was to be provided through examining two high schools with rather different student populations and the 9th and 12th grades in each.

The facts are that the school authorities are conscientiously attempting to achieve an equitable racial distribution, and in the two high schools under observation the official policy is to suppress any discriminatory practice. Indeed, issues of a racial kind almost never surface so that energies of administrators and teachers are given almost entirely to the traditional operations of the school. The absence of serious overt tensions or concern is neither a conspiracy of silence nor a lack of a potential for racial disturbance. The apparent quiet exists because students have created a parallel system based on racial identification which effectively isolates the two groups, at least sufficiently to minimize the possibility of overt eruption, although that is an unintended consequence rather than a major explanation for the observed groupings. Furthermore, this bi-racial structuring is tacitly accepted by the staff in a variety of ways. Inevitably, when such a situation becomes habitual it also becomes accepted and subtle adjustments are made in the formal system for its accommodation. A summary of findings is presented below:

A. Bi-racial Parallelism: The voluntary clustering of students on the basis of racial identification is a persistent and universal phenomenon. Students also align themselves on the basis of age and sex, but neither of these aspects is as consistently observed as is that of race. There are occasions, however, when racial lines are crossed, but these are of limited duration and followed by a reversion to the basic bi-racial separatism. Some brief description of both the persisting regularities and the variations will reveal the magnitude and range of the practice.

If we observe student use of the "free" space of the school -- that which has not been specifically claimed for academic programs -- the hallways, the central mall, and the grounds around the buildings, we discover that some of the area has been converted into exclusive racial territory, some is sequentially programmed, and some, as most of the hallways, is used freely by both groups. In the cafeteria whites (and a few blacks) use one serving line while the other line is used by blacks and a few of the faculty. Only on the rarest occasions do students choose eating companions of the other race. Free choice seating in library and classrooms, where not interfered with by teachers, reflect a rigid, self-imposed racial separation. Students have no choice of the buses which transport them to and from school but these too are almost wholly segregated due to the residential pattern. But the fact that at one school when they arrive at the school the blacks have chosen one door as entry to the school and the whites another is significant.

Modification of the voluntary self-separation appears under conditions imposed by the school authorities in certain extra-curricular activities where there is a competitive display of talent, and in the expression of certain types of interest. A few examples will illustrate the variety of these divergences from the general pattern, but they too are of great interest for the further insights which they provide of the system.

At one of the high schools the principal has decreed that there be a racial balance in the membership and officers of the student council, of class organizations, and of the female cheerleaders. For elected office this is neatly arranged by a procedure which stipulated that if the individual receiving the highest number of votes for president is a black, then the white receiving the next highest number automatically becomes vice-president. The racial balance among cheerleaders is achieved by selection.

In those activities where demonstrated talent determines who is selected no such easy formula can be applied. Thus on athletic teams and in band and chorus blacks are over represented, but whites constitute a majority of the membership of the honor society. Clubs which appeal to special interests also reflect racial differences. Chess and science clubs are predominantly white while the homemakers are mostly black. Age and sex differences are also apparent in these groupings.

The significant conclusion that can be drawn from observations on extra-curricular activities, which is also substantiated in the classroom, is that in task oriented activities racial identities tend to drop away as a significant factor of group membership. Instead, the quality of the contribution of the individual in goal achievement becomes paramount. Nevertheless, the residual effect of such cross-racial mixing seems to be minimal since once task activities cease the participants rejoin a friendship grouping within their racial segment.

B. Natural Groupings: Although observation has established the wide-spread prevalence of a bi-racial division of students (and internal elaborations of this pattern based upon age, sex, talent, and interest) it has also directed attention to an orderly clustering of students by identifiable groups. These are orderly in that there are observable regularities in their temporal and spatial behavior and in their membership. Other students recognize such groups exist and can specify membership for some of them. There are no permanent bi-racial natural groupings.

The literature on small groups refers to these clusterings as cliques or informal groups although sometimes other terms such as gang, crowd, bunch, or set are used. That they exist in the two high schools being studied is not at all surprising. The several studies of student systems in high schools as well as studies of prisons, work groups in industry, the military, etc., all refer to their existence.

What has been surprising to us, however, has been the striking contrast in organization and other aspects which characterize the informal group pattern of blacks when compared with whites. Although we have satisfied ourselves of the fundamental difference between blacks and whites, based upon sample observation and survey techniques, we do not claim to understand either the meaning or significance of this finding.

The data lead us to speculate that black informal groups, when compared to whites, exhibit a different internal structuring, possess far greater capacity to coalesce into larger units or divide into smaller ones, use more language and body behavior as a means of structuring and cohesion control, have a different priority of conditions to which they respond, and have different criteria for inclusion or exclusion on the basis of age or sex. As yet we remain uninformed about how obligations are accumulated or discharged.

Although there is no research which specifically addresses itself to the informal groups of black high school students, the studies by Liebow and Hannerz shed some light on our problem. The latter (Hannerz 1969) distinguishes between "mainstream" and "street" families, and "swingers". Liebow (1967) focuses entirely on "street corner" men and their often transitory relationship with the female dominated street family. In fact, only among members of mainstream families, or the adult females and children of street families, or with a kin-type pair among street corner men does there seem to be relationships with any degree of permanence. In the group Liebow observed friendship ties form and dissolve easily and there seems to be no internal hierarchy of status. Cohesion arose from common interest as among the swingers, or from a comparable situation as with the street corner men. There was for all, however, a strong cultural bond best expressed by "Soul" which reflected mutual tastes in music, food, dress, entertainment, speech, and other attitudes and interests. Thus those who won acclaim for their talents in music or athletics received the adulation of the entire community. Lesser recognition was accorded the preacher, numbers man, or bootlegger. In general they report only limited connections, except in a subservient position, of blacks with the institutional groupings of the mainstream society, in contrast to the pervasive significance of the family and transitory informal clusterings.

What is indicated, however, is that we need a thorough re-examination of all small group studies. In particular, we need to be alert to possible connections between organizational characteristics and cultural patterns. Is it possible that there are significant, regional, ethnic, social class differences which appear with any degree of regularity? If so, new significances would emerge from re-examination of Whyte's study of the Italian corner boys of Boston (1943), the Bank Wiring Room study of Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), the Irish country cuairds described by Arensberg and Kimball (1940), and many others.

Our initial findings indicate considerable correspondence between the pattern of white cliques and that reported in the literature except that whereas other high school studies report a sizeable segment of the student body as unaffiliated with a friendship group (Gordon: 1957), our survey has turned up only a handful who might be thus classified. In other respects the gross similarities are considerable and the contrast with the black group is marked. For example, groups exhibit various degrees of internal status hierarchy comparable to that described by Whyte. They tend to be relatively small in size and stable in membership; there is a differential prestige ranking among cliques possibly corresponding to the social class distinctions of parents as described by Hollingshead in Elmstown Youth (1949); there is internal role heterogeneity; and age levels are seldom crossed. There are other aspects of clique behavior which we have not worked out as yet including the complicated one of the consequence of courtship on behavior. Nor do we know what effect the contrasting informal group system of the blacks has upon the white system and vice versa.

C. Residential-locality Setting: Determination of the extent to which the pattern of behavior which students express in the school setting as a reflection of the cultural setting from which they come constitutes the third dimension of our problem. We believe that a pattern of behavior is established in the family and in participation with associates in the localities where they reside. We believe that these are carried into the school setting but we do not know to what extent the experience of the school either modifies the pattern or to what extent the pattern is resistant to change. We posit that the basic pattern of natural groupings is carried into the school setting, but we need to understand its origin and anchoring and hence its power to perpetuate itself. As we have already stated, it is from this base that the bi-racial structure appears.

When we examined the racial pattern of University City it was not surprising that the students' bi-racial pattern was replicated in the community. This is most apparent in housing, marriage and family, membership in churches and voluntary associations, and burial of the dead. It is less apparent in access to public facilities and in some areas of employment where recent legislation has opened up opportunities from which blacks previously had been largely excluded. It is unnecessary to repeat the detail reported elsewhere but a free-ranging interpretation may help broaden our perspective.

An Interpretive Recapitulation:

The attempt to evaluate the benefits or costs of desegregation is both tricky and difficult. This is so since the conclusions that are reached depend so heavily upon the priority assigned to the various objectives, to the perspective of those who make such an assessment, and to whether the judgment is based on short term consequences or long term expectations. The evidence does seem to indicate, however, that for good or ill, the repercussions among blacks have been greater than among whites. Only within the context of community can such a statement be understood and for that reason it is necessary for us to re-examine the analysis of the comparison between blacks and whites presented in the section on community.

In the social readjustments accompanying the intrusion of industry and the rise to dominance of an urban way of life in the South in recent decades the older agrarian pattern of color-castes has been both diminished in importance and shattered, and has also been superceded by new social arrangements. The direction of this change has now become imbedded as part of the social fabric, and sanctioned by law through the Civil Rights legislation and supreme court decisions. Attention has been called to the fact that some aspects of the new social order resemble the cultural pluralism of co-existing ethnic and racial groups in the Netherland Indies and the Caribbean. This pluralism was one in which the public needs of a population could be discharged in relative harmony in the market place but still granted to each ethnic group the undisturbed observance of its cultural practices in private. But there are also significant social and historical differences between the South and these other areas which both complicate the situation and require additional interpretation.

The slavery system of the ante-bellum South placed most blacks at the bottom of a basic two class system. But even under slavery, there was a sizeable segment of freedmen (estimated at one-quarter of the whole) and some of these created the nucleus of a small middle-class black group which came to prominence after emancipation during reconstruction and later represented the one segment of the black population which, although not free of either paternalism or exploitation, could still be spokesmen for black rights. These were the ministers, morticians, teachers, and some few artisans and small business operators. As their leadership gave cohesiveness to the black population they also increased the separation between the races and channelled communication from white leadership through them. In recent years it has been the middle-class which provided the membership of the NAACP and was in the forefront of the initial Civil Rights battle. This group sponsored the cases which led to the 1954 Supreme Court decision abolishing segregated schools and to subsequent court cases intended to force local school boards to observe the law. The pattern of black leadership as described above also applied to Auhcala county and University City.

The modification of the position of the blacks in University City should thus be viewed as local expression of changes that were widespread. These stirrings toward equity began to be verified in census counts, sanctioned by legislation, acted out in behavior, and symbolically culminated in the election of a black mayor.

But it must be remembered that the whites were also experiencing the stresses which come from rapid change. After the end of World War II both county and city received a great tide of outsiders. The university changed from a provincial all-male institution featuring agriculture and engineering to a modern, large and complex institution of higher learning. State and federal governments expanded their beachheads through increased activities and personnel. Multiple-outlet retail firms established local branches that eroded the once dominant system of downtown merchants. In less than a decade the outside intrusion of a corporate form of organization had penetrated University City and become dominant in every institutional dimension of life, except one -- the churches. In the process the personalism which had accompanied the etiquette of the marketplace was shoved aside and the subserviency of paternalism was replaced by the hierarchy of bureaucracy.

The corporate system did not emerge sui generis from the community structure of University City. In fact, in many aspects it is antithetical to community systems. The corporate form, as we now know it in the United States, has been in the process of development for well over a century, but not until after World War II with the rise of the multiversity with its great reservoir of talent and its new emphasis on research has this form of human organization achieved its pre-eminence. Through the trinitarian alliance of higher education, private corporate enterprises, and public government, first achieved during World War II and reasserted in the post-Sputnik frenzy (although in slight disarray today because of political ineptitude), the future shape of American society has been set. (Kimball: 1972) Thus, in University City not only was the traditional system superceded by new organizational forms, but the old guard was unseated by the relatively massive influx of new residents some of whom opposed the older practices and led the fight for change.

The black dominated NAACP in its struggle to end segregated schooling was actually in step with the new corporate ethos which decreed that ability, not ancestry, was to be the deciding factor in the rewards granted successful performance in corporate organization. In the long haul then blacks stood to gain in the equalization of educational opportunity since it would increase their access to technical, intellectual, and professional skills which were the attributes sought after. Such evidence as we have indicates that the children of middle-class black families in University City are benefitting by the new racially mixed schools. In the process, however, some of them become separated, even excluded from association with black students deriving from the urban poor or rural families.

The bulk of the black parents we interviewed claim their children experienced no such benefits and they are opposed to desegregation. They complain that their children are being poorly educated and even discriminated against. They look with nostalgia to the past when their children attended all-black schools and when they could relate to the school and its teachers. Some who taught in these schools also express similar views. Both parents and teachers are quite explicit about the former all-black high school as being a significant force in bringing cohesion to the black community. Now only the churches persist, but in their diversity they manifest the internal segmentation of the black community not its unity. Whether the desire for separation will increase or diminish cannot be predicted but we can offer some interpretations about what has happened.

When the federal court order of 1970 ordered immediate desegregation the county school board announced the closing of the Booker T. Washington High School. This decision was protested by demonstrations on the part of students and in meetings by adult members of the black community. The blacks lost the battle but they did win some concessions. The principal and some of his staff would go to one of the new high schools, but the school name, long associated with the black community, would be left behind with the deserted building. And thus it was settled. That new school was Palmetto High, one of the two schools under scrutiny in this research. But the loyalty which the old black high school elicited could not be and was never transferred. The school as a focal point of cohesion for the black community had been destroyed.

Let it also be noted, however, that some small white high schools were closed in this great reshuffling to achieve numerical balance between the races as a first principle of school assignment. The lament of the parents of Guthrie at the loss of their school and their difficulty in identifying with or participating in the distant school to which their children are bused, has been reported. The court order may well have been merely an excuse to close such small and antiquated school plants for the sake of efficiency in school operation, but it was nonetheless a direct blow at the institutional complex which give meaning and stability to small communities. Many of these suffered similar travail decades ago when legislation brought consolidation and the end of the small rural high school.

That both blacks and whites have experienced stress as a result of school desegregation should not be surprising. But its differential distribution based upon the degree of attachment to the older agrarian or the newer corporate forms of American society is indeed interesting. Although we encountered no enthusiastic support of racially mixed schools there was grudging acknowledgement that it was a necessary step on the part of both black and white middle-class parents. The greatest complaint has been voiced by working class blacks and rural whites and was as much a protest of the separation of themselves from the school and their children as it was of racial mixing. Why should it be these two groups should experience the greatest stress, a stress that would probably have appeared without racial mixing under conditions of school consolidation with separation and community loss?

If we agree that the educational enterprise is congruent with the society of which it is a part, then the modern educational system should be viewed as an artifact of the corporate system; as the formal device which trains the young and in so doing separates them from the private world of family and community and prepares them for participation in the public life of corporate organization (Kimball and McClellan: 1962). Even though the school as now constituted may be unsuccessful with marginal peoples -- those who are outside the middle class ethos -- at least the attempt to socialize their children into recognizing the functioning of structured organizations is necessary. From this perspective, desegregation although considered to be a victory for advancing the cause of the blacks, turns out to be, in effect, an imperialistic assault upon the kin based folk culture of blacks (and some whites).

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